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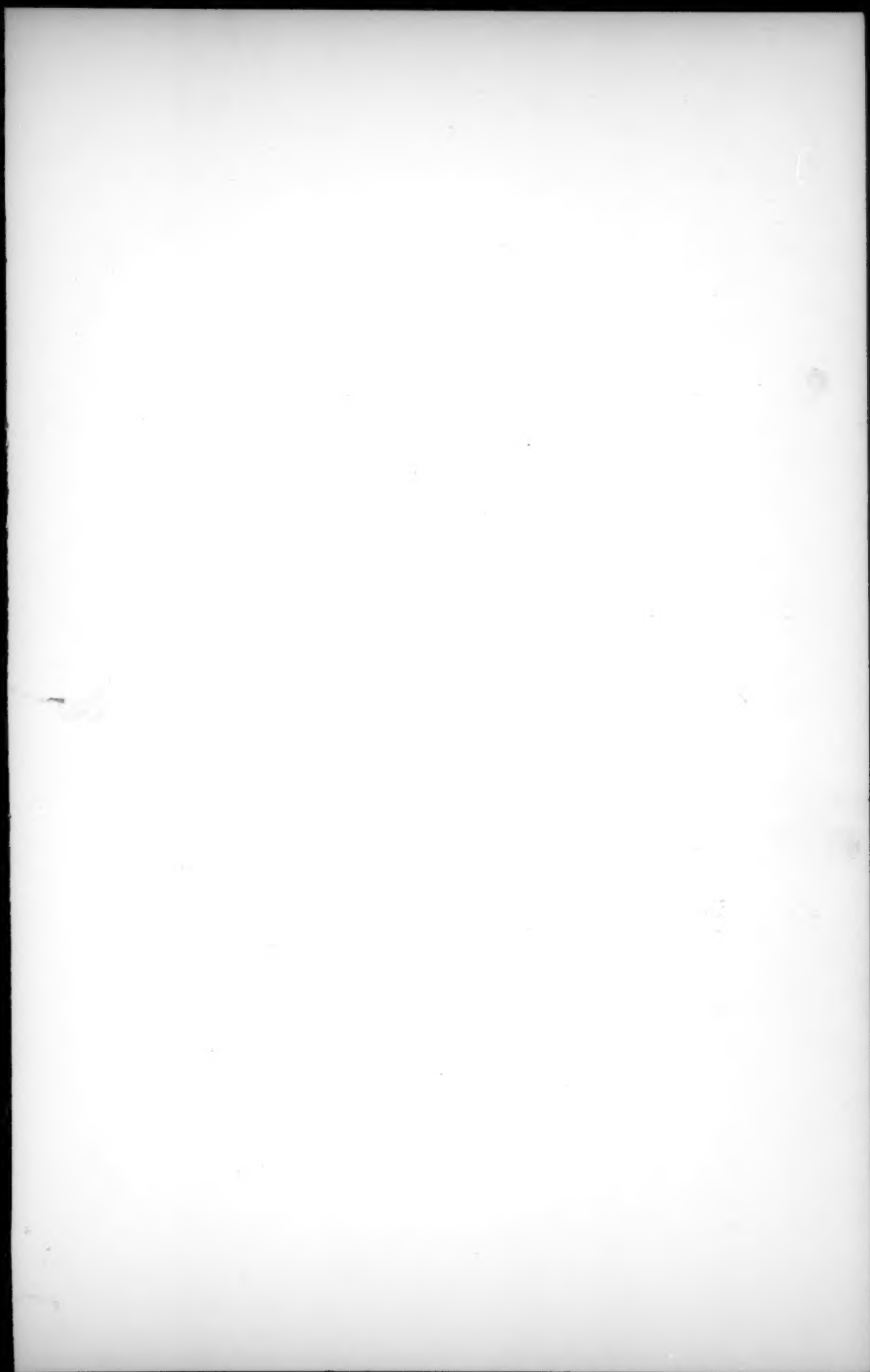
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*Cum permittu superiorum.*





BARTHOLOMEW MASTRIUS, O.F.M.CONV.  
 at the age of sixty-two

From a plate in his *Disputationes Theologicae in Quartum Librum Sententiarum*, Venice, 1664  
 Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, New York

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF BARTHOLOMEW  
MASTRIUS, O.F.M. CONV.

1602-1673

INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS STUDY is concerned with the life and writings of Father Bartholomew Mastrius, O.F.M. Conv., a Scotistic philosopher and theologian of the seventeenth century.

There was a time when an essay about a seventeenth century Scotist needed an extensive introduction to explain there were Scotists—indeed, scholastics of any school—in the seventeenth century. Such an explanation, however, is probably no longer necessary. For Dominique de Caylus and several other writers<sup>2</sup> have done much to correct the false impression that scholasticism died out from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth. Thanks to the efforts of Caylus and others who followed his lead, it is quite widely acknowledged that the Counter-Reformation brought with it a revival of scholastic theology and philosophy that lasted until the late 1600's. For the sake of completeness, however, further explanation of that revival is given in the body of the present work.<sup>3</sup>

1. This study was submitted as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

The author wishes to express his thanks to Fr. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., for his direction, and to Frs. Bernward Willeke, O.F.M., Bernardine Mazzarella, O.F.M., Camille, O.F.M.Cap. (of Pointe-aux-Trembles, Canada), and Raphael Huber, O.F.M.Conv., for their valuable help, as well as to his Superiors for the opportunity afforded him to prepare this work.

2. Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement de l'école scotiste," *Études Franciscaines*, XXIV (Juillet, 1910), 5-21; XXIV (Novembre, 1910), 493-502; XXV (Janvier, 1911), 35-47; XXV (Juin, 1911), 627-645, et suite.

Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Skotisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 28-58, 150-175.

Articles in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* on "Duns Scot," "Frères Mineurs," etc.

3. See the beginning of Section II.

We are concerned, then, with the life story of a seventeenth century Scotist, Bartholomew Mastrius, and the works that he wrote. Since this study is, however, an historical one—a bibliography—it does not attempt to analyze the philosophy or theology developed in Mastrius' works.

An appraisal of that kind belongs to the fields of philosophy and theology, where in fact work is being done by two Conventual Friars in Italy. Father Luigi Santoro (S. Croce, Florence) has written a dissertation on the philosophy of Mastrius, and Father Faustino Cassanna (S. Teodoro, Rome) currently is writing one on certain points in Mastrius' theology.<sup>4</sup>

The principal sources for the present study have been Gioanni Franchini's *Bibliosofia*<sup>5</sup> and the works themselves of Mastrius.

Franchini's authority commands respect for two important reasons: first, he was personally acquainted with Mastrius, both of them having belonged to the same Province in the Order;<sup>6</sup> secondly, Franchini, as Procurator General of the Order,<sup>7</sup> had access to official sources of information.<sup>8</sup>

There are, to be sure, certain defects in Franchini's *Bibliosofia*. In praising a man or a community he is often too florid; and by the same token, he is quite reticent and cryptic when there is question of reporting events likely to incite ill feelings among his contemporaries. But on the whole he is a well-qualified authority.

The prefaces to Mastrius' works have a special biographical and bibliographical value. They often explain the circumstances

4. From a bibliography sent to the author by the Most Rev. Bede Hess, O.F.M.Conv., Minister General.

5. *Bibliosofia e memorie letterarie di scrittori Francescani Conventuali ch'hanno scritto dopo l'anno 1585* (Modena: Eredi Soliani Stampatori Duc., 1693).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

7. Edouard d'Alençon, "Franchini," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 720.

8. Prior to his *Bibliosofia* Franchini had published two other works on the Order: *Status Religionis Franciscanae Conventualium* (Rome, 1682); and *De Antiquioritate Franciscana Conventualibus Adjudicata* (Ronciglione, 1682). E. d'Alençon, "Franchini," *ibid.* So also Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 322. (Further references to Franchini in the present work are to his *Bibliosofia*).

of publication, and thereby link together important events in his career. Frequently these prefaces or forewords are polemic and give us both an insight into his temperament and information about the various controversies in which he engaged. They have the reliability as well as the limitations of any autobiographical material, and in the present study allowance has been made for their subjective viewpoint.

Supplementary sources have varied according to different parts of the thesis. Articles in the *Franciscan Studies*, *Miscellanea Francescana*, *Franziskanische Studien*, *Études Franciscaines*, as well as in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, have supplied many details of background for various chapters, e. g., on the state of seventeenth century scholasticism, and on the system of education used in the Order. Occasional references to other works have been made throughout and acknowledged accordingly.

Not acknowledged in the text, however, are the several sections in Pastor's *History of the Popes* and in the manuscript of a *History of the Conventuals* by Father Raphael Huber, O.F.M. Conv., which have provided the author with a general familiarity with the history of Italy and the Order of the times.

For the Bibliography of Works by Mastrius—which will appear later in our study—the chief sources have been Franchini, Wadding, John of St. Anthony, Sbaralea, Hurter, Caylus, and of course, the works themselves of Mastrius. A complete list of sources for this part is given as one of the initial references there.

## I.

### FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION

#### *Early Years*

*Birth, 1602.*—Bartholomew Mastrius was born in Meldola,<sup>9</sup> Italy, in the year 1602, during the night between the seventh

9. Meldola is a small town on the Ronco River (Franchini called it the River Viti) in Province of Forli. Its approximate location is 44° N, 12° E. It lies

and eighth day of December. That this date should correspond to the vigil or to the feast itself of the Immaculate Conception was looked upon by his chief biographer as auspicious of the role Mastrius was to play in helping to make better known the teachings of Duns Scotus, the famous proponent of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>10</sup>

*Family.*—The Mastrius family had been long established in Meldola. The relics of one of its kinsmen, Father Andrew Mastrius (who died in 1455),<sup>11</sup> were venerated by the people of the town.<sup>12</sup>

The family of Bartholomew's mother, however, was a more recent arrival. Her family, the Pocointesta, had flourished in Ferrara at the court of the famous Este princes.<sup>13</sup> At the end

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about 8 miles west of Cesena, 8 miles south of Forli, 18 miles southwest of Ravenna, and about 55 miles southeast of Ferrara. Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Guide Books: Northern Italy* (13th ed. remodelled; Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1906), map. 2. *Baedeker's Guide Books: Central Italy and Rome* (15th ed. revised; Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1909), p. 122. See also *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1934), XXII, 801, for picture and article about Meldola.

Politically the town had been affiliated with Ferrara in the latter's struggle against papal dominion in the sixteenth century. With the fall of Ferrara's ruling house in 1598, Meldola passed into the hands of the Aldobrandini family (relatives and supporters of Clement VIII). One branch of this family became related by marriage to Innocent X's family, the Pamfilio. In view of this circumstance, Mastrius dedicated the second volume of the metaphysics to Innocent X. Giovanni Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 82. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1924), XXIII, 54-56, especially ft. note 3, p. 56. Mastrius, *Disputationes in XII Arist. Libros Metaphysicorum* . . . tomus posterior (Venetiis: apud Ginamum, 1647), letter of dedication.

10. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

11. F.S.P., sacerdos ejusdem Ordinis [Fratrum Minorum Conventualium], *Aliquot servorum Dei ac beatorum Ordinis Min: Conventualium Effigies* a series of printed portraits with short biographical sketches, a copy of which is had in Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio.

12. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis* (Venetiis: apud Michaelem Hertz, 1709), Disp. 28, Quest. 4, Art. 5, par. 131.

13. The family was originally from Cortona, but it had moved to Ferrara during the fifteenth century in the days of Duke Borso. It became one of the twenty-seven noble families "del consiglio di Ferrara." It supplied generals for the wars and diplomats for international politics. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

For a history of the Este family, see: "Ferrara," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., IX, 181; "Este," *ibid.*, VIII, 732; Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* (Milano: Dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani Contrada del Cappuccio, 1821), XV, 138, 140, 145, and XVIII, index.



of the sixteenth century, however, the colorful Este court was disbanded<sup>14</sup> as Pope Clement VIII re-established the papal claims over Ferrara and its affiliated territory.<sup>15</sup> Many of the courtiers attached themselves to the court of Modena,<sup>16</sup> and it may well have been that at this time the Pocointesta family, or part of it, moved down to Meldola.

*Early education.*—In this or perhaps some similar way Hipolita Pocointesta came to Meldola. Considering the prominence of her family in Ferrara and that of the Mastrius family in Meldola, we can reasonably suppose that Bartholomew's home was financially well-provided. Such a supposition is in agreement with the kind of education Mastrius received. For we know that he was trained in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and some philosophy before he went away to study for the priesthood.<sup>17</sup> His brothers were also educated.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps they were all educated in one of the private schools of the times.<sup>19</sup> One brother, Antheo, also joined the Franciscan Order and attended, like Bartholomew, the famous St. Bonaventure College in Rome.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Mastrius' Education in the Order*

*Entrance to religious life, 1617.*—At the age of fifteen, Mastrius left home in answer to what he felt was God's call to religious life. On November 26, 1617, he was invested in the

14. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 415.

15. *Ibid.*, 394.

16. *Ibid.*, 415.

17. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

18. *Ibid.*: "Con più fratelli fù allevato alli studii."

19. Before the decline of the eighteenth century, "the academies and private schools of both secondary and elementary type furnished a well-developed system of schools for Italy during the early centuries of the modern period. These were established by princes, by teachers, by cities, or by private endowment, or by ecclesiastical authority of various types. In some instances where there was an approach to a local system of schools." *A Cyclopaedia of Education*, ed. Paul Monroe (New York: Macmillan, 1918), III, 500.

For a picture of the limitations of Italian education in nearly the same period, the latter half of the sixteenth century, see: *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, Allan P. Farrell (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938), pp. 92 ff.

20. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Franciscan habit and began his year of novitiate with the Friars Minor Conventual at Cesena, eight miles from his native town. A year later he was professed in the Order and was sent to Bologna for studies.<sup>21</sup>

### *The Order's Educational System*<sup>22</sup>

*Period of transition.*—Mastrius' assignment to Bologna in 1618 marked the beginning of over twenty years of work in the schools of the Order, first as a student and later as a teacher. To understand the story of those twenty years, it will be helpful to know something about the Order's educational system of those days.

That system was in a period of transition. In 1619, just after Mastrius began his studies in Bologna, the Minister General, Father James Montanari<sup>23</sup> issued an encyclical letter which inaugurated changes in the plan then being used.<sup>24</sup> These innovations were incorporated in the forthcoming constitutions of the Order, the Urban Constitutions of 1628,<sup>25</sup> which in lieu of

21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

22. Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order (1182-1517)* (Milwaukee and Washington, 1944), Part II, chap. viii.

23. P. M. Giacomo Montanari of Bagnacavello in Romagna was elected Minister General in May, 1617, after having served four and a half years as Vicar Apostolic. He held the office of Minister General until 1623, distinguishing himself for his personal holiness and his wise methods of reform in the Order. Part of this important work was the reform of studies introduced in 1619. He died in 1631. Lorenzo Caratelli di Segni, *Manuale dei Novizi e Professi Chierici e Laici Minori Conventuali* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1897), pp. 270 ff. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f, 286-290.

24. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

25. *Constitutiones Urbanae Ordinis Minorum Conventualium auctoritate Pii VII* (Romae, 1823). These Constitutions were confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, May 15, 1628, mitigated by Pope Pius VII, January 10, 1823, and remained substantially in force until the present Constitutions were adopted in 1932. *Manuale de Regula et Constitutionibus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*, P. M. Bede Hess, Min. Gen. (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), p. 54.

Fr. Caietanus M. Stano, O.F.M.Conv. tells us that the changes in studies made by the Urban Constitutions had been inaugurated by Min. Gen. Montanari. But Stano gives the date of Montanari's decree as 1620 instead of 1619 as Franchini (*op. cit.*, p. 288) reports. Stano, *Pontificia Facultas Theologica O.F.M.Conv. in Urbe* (Romae: Editrice "Miscellanea Francescana," 1947 (Estratto da *Miscellanea Francescana*, Vol. 45 (1945), pp. 1-28), p. 8.

Father Montanari's instructions can serve as a guide to an understanding of the Order's educational system.

"*Studia* in the Order.—According to the Urban Constitutions, the ancient "*studia generalia*" and "*studia provincialia*" of the Order were recast into new forms known as "*collegia*" and "*gymnasia*."<sup>26</sup> The old *studia* dated back to the first days of the Order. With the early need for educated men the friars had been sent to attend the chief universities of Europe: Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Padua, etc. The friars had lived in their convents and attended classes at the universities. They had also set up their own schools within the convents to prepare their students for more advanced university work. Eventually the various provinces of the Order had become charged with the duty of educating their own friars, and the schools thus set up had become known as "*studia provincialia*." This was to distinguish them from the "*studia generalia*," those schools near the large universities to which all the provinces could send men.<sup>27</sup>

In order to facilitate co-ordination with the universities, the schools of the Order had sought and obtained faculties for granting their students the traditional scholastic degrees. Men thus qualified could teach both in the Order's schools and in the universities.<sup>28</sup> From the first, men of the Order like Alexander of Hales, Saint Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus had taught in the universities. And conversely, outside students frequently attended classes in the schools of the Order. Thus, for example, the *studium generalium* at Bologna became practically a theological school of the university.<sup>29</sup>

26. *Ibid.*

27. Dominicus Sparacio, *Seraphici D. Bonaventurae Ord. Min. Conv. De Urbe Collegii a Sixto V fundati synopsis historica* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1923), p. 6. See also Stano, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f., and Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 798, 802, 850.

28. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Stano, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

29. At Bologna the Franciscan Friars taught "sacras disciplinas" not only to their own students but to outsiders as well, as shown by a document dated 1236. On March 26, 1249, Innocent IV granted to all ecclesiastical students attending the theology classes of the Friars the same indulgences which the students of theology at the University of Paris enjoyed, though before 1360, the Friars could not grant degrees to their students. On June 21 of that year—1360—Innocent VI issued a Bull establishing the Theological Faculty at Bologna. P. M. Nicolaus

*The new "gymnasia".*—All this traditional heritage was recast into the clean-cut lines of the new system embodied in the Urban Constitutions of 1628. According to this system a professed friar who had passed an entrance examination spent three years in what was known as a gymnasium of the third class. Young men in this class were called "Beginners" ("Initiati"). They studied philosophy, the elements of mathematics, and (upon the consent of the Prefect) introductory theology.<sup>30</sup>

After their three years they could, upon passing an examination, be advanced to a gymnasium of the second class. In this second class the friars, known as "*Studentes*," took up the study of dogmatic theology for three years. This was continued in the gymnasium first class for three more years, an examination and public defense of a thesis intervening. Graduation to this first class seems to have been equivalent to receiving the baccalaureate, for students in that class were known as "*Baccalaurei*."<sup>31</sup>

*The new "collegia."*—The final three-year course was called the "*Collegium*." Here the students, "*Collegiales*," studied scripture, some dogmatic theology and law, but especially the teachings of some eminent doctor of the Order, like Scotus, Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, Francis de Mayronis, or Richard of Middleton. The College of St. Bonaventure in Rome, however, was to specialize in the teachings of Saint Bonaventure.<sup>32</sup>

This institution, founded in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V, was the queen of Conventual colleges. Its enrollment was restricted to a

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Papini, O.F.M.Conv., "*Minoritae Conventuales lectores publici artium et scientiarum in academiis, universitatibus et collegiis extra ordinem*" opus posthumum cum notis et additamentis P. Eliae Magrini; *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXIV (1934), 118, 119.

See also P. M. Francesco Benoffi, "Degli Studi nell'Ordine dei Minore" opera postuma, *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXI (1931), 151-160, 257-259. . . .

30. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, nn. 2, 3, 4, 13.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, nn. 2, 3, 4, 14.

Though the doctrine and teaching methods propounded by St. Bonaventure were supposed to make up the curriculum of this college, in practice some of the teachers and students were Scotists to some extent. Édouard d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 840.

limited number of the most promising students.<sup>33</sup> Passing its entrance examination was equivalent to receiving the degree *Baccalaureus Licentiatus*. Those who fulfilled the three year course were, without further examination, eligible for the Doctorate and appointment as Regents of Studies by the General Chapter of the Order.<sup>34</sup>

This then is a broad outline of the educational system in the Order as prescribed by the Urban Constitutions of 1628. In general, Mastrius' career followed the plan, but not in every detail. Perhaps this was due to the experimental stage of these innovations during the 1620's. Or perhaps it was due to Mastrius' unusual abilities; the constitutions permitted exceptions to be made for brighter students.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Mastrius at Various Schools*

*At Bologna, 1618-1623(?)*—As has been noted above, Mastrius was sent to Bologna in 1618, a year before Minister General Montanari launched the new system. Probably Mastrius completed his philosophy in Bologna and even started theology there before 1621. For on September 28, 1621, he was awarded the Bachelor degree.<sup>36</sup> Coming in the fall of the year, at the beginning of the new school year,<sup>37</sup> it seems to indicate that Mastrius was being admitted to the gymnasium first class, a theology school.

33. Stano, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.

34. There were three different academic degrees: 1) *Baccalaureus Cursus* or *Lector Biblicus*, who read and interpreted Scripture under the supervision of a *Magister Regens*; 2) *Baccalaureus Regens, Cathedraicus*, or *Sententiarius*, who read the Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard under the direction of a *Magister Regens*; 3) *Baccalaureus Licentiatus*, i. e., *sui juris*, who could teach publicly and independently of a *Magister Regens*. But he did not become eligible for appointment as a *Magister Regens* himself until he had conducted classes three years. Sparachio, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

See also J. A. Burns, "Arts, Bachelor of"; "Arts, Faculty of"; and "Arts, Master of," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 756-760.

35. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, n. 5.

36. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

37. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, n. 15. Classes began Sept. 8, and closed July 14.

During this period of his studies at Bologna, Mastrius published the first of his known works, a poem in praise of Saint Bonaventure.<sup>38</sup> Its appearance at this time is an early indication of his capacity to combine arduous study with *belles-lettres*. In his later years he was still fond of composing bits of poetry as relaxation from his more strenuous writing.<sup>39</sup>

*At Parma, 1623.*—From 1621 to 1623 Mastrius probably continued his theology at Bologna. By 1623 he seems to have finished what we might call his “undergraduate” studies. For in that year he received appointments which would presuppose this.<sup>40</sup> First, he was appointed Master of Studies at the Order’s school at Parma.<sup>41</sup> But that assignment was superseded by his appointment as Master of Studies at Bologna.<sup>42</sup>

*At Naples, 1623.*—To be named Master of Studies at Bologna so young was quite a distinction. But the same year (1623), Mastrius was asked to choose between keeping this important post and going on for further studies. He chose the latter and seized the opportunity to study theology at Naples<sup>43</sup> under the renowned professor, Father Joseph Napoli.<sup>44</sup> Under his guidance

38. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

39. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

40. The Urban Constitutions required that *Lectores* and *Regentes* observe a scale of advancement parallel to that required of the students. For example, no one was to be appointed Regent of a gymnasium first class who had not been Regent of a gymnasium second class for three years. Apparently the regulations were made stricter in 1628, when the Urban Constitutions were adopted, than they were in 1623, for the appointments of Mastrius did not follow the plan. Yet it was common practice in the general educational set-up that instructors of the Bachelor of Arts level be selected only from those who had graduated from the undergraduate school level. See J. A. Burns, “Arts, Bachelor of,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 756 f.

41. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

44. Trapani was an excellent teacher and devoted Scotist. So highly did the Minister General Montanari value him as a teacher that he allowed him to accept the Provincialate of Sicily for one term only and on the agreement that after its fulfillment he would return to his teaching post. He is credited with having first formulated the Scotistic stand on the hotly debated question of Predestination. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Fr. Angelus Volpi da Mone Pelso (d. 1647) made Trapani’s theory popular.

Mastrius progressed very well. In fact, master and pupil worked together in defending at Rome, in 1624, Napoli's thesis: *De consursu causae primae cum secunda*.<sup>45</sup>

*At Rome, 1625-1628.*—The next year, 1625, found Mastrius in Rome again, this time to begin the three year special course at Saint Bonaventure College.<sup>46</sup> His appointment came at a time when an enlargement of the college endowment permitted an increase in the enrollment from an original twelve to twice that number.<sup>47</sup>

*Meets Bonaventure Belluti.*—Among the other twenty-three students there was one in particular who was to play a large part in Mastrius' career, Bonaventure Belluti of Catania, Sicily.<sup>48</sup> The two became fast friends, inseparable in their work for fifteen years.

Belluti was about three years older than Mastrius<sup>49</sup> and of more quiet temperament.<sup>50</sup> The chief bond of their friendship seems to have been their common devotion to study. Not even the many cultural attractions of the Eternal City could draw them from their books.<sup>51</sup>

One particular problem drew their special attention: the current methods of teaching philosophy in the schools of the Order. They objected to what they considered undue textual explanation. There seems to have been too much emphasis placed on examining, even to grammatical details, the opinions of

It became the accepted Scotistic tradition. (Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 85.)

Volpi, noted for his ability and holiness, taught Scotistic theology at Naples for twenty years. He published there: *Commentaria in I, II, et III Sententiarum Scoti*, 12 vols. in folio. Part of this work was condemned by the Church. Caratelli, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-57.

45. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

46. *Idem*.

47. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, p. 11. By 1787 the enrollment reached 55. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

48. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

49. Belluti died May 18, 1676, at the age of 77. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae Catholicae* (ed. altera; Oeniponte: 1893), II, 20. He was born, therefore, either in 1598 or 1599, making him 3 or 4 years older than Mastrius.

50. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

particular authors on various subjects. Mastrius and Belluti thought this was bridling individual initiative too much.<sup>52</sup>

Consequently they proposed to develop a whole new course in philosophy. The plan evidently met with the approval of their superiors for they were granted the assurance that they would not be separated in their future work but would be permitted to collaborate in this extensive project.<sup>53</sup>

With this assurance the two companions pursued their work with even greater enthusiasm. At the end of the course, probably in 1628, they were granted the doctoral laureate and sent out to accomplish their chosen work.<sup>54</sup>

*Ordination, 1628.*—Probably around this same time Mastrius was ordained to the priesthood. His biographers do not give the date, but the regulations of the Council of Trent then in force<sup>55</sup> required that no one “be promoted to the order of . . . priesthood before his twenty-fifth year.”<sup>56</sup> Mastrius was twenty-five years old in December, 1627.

## II.

### MASTRIUS' PHILOSOPHICAL WORK

#### *Seventeenth Century Scholasticism*

*Background.*—Armed then with ten years of philosophical and theological education, Mastrius set out upon his career. His times were highly important in the history of European politics and learning. This was the Europe of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Frederick William the Great Elector, the Stuarts, and Oliver Cromwell. It was the battleground of the Thirty Years War and the defeat of the Turks at Vienna; the era of Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Margaret Mary, Bossuet, Jansen, the Port

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. III, Tit. VI, n. 2.

56. Session XXIII, Chapt. XII. (Transl. from *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. J. Waterworth (London: 1848).



Royalists, and the English Deists. It was the world of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton.

*Two philosophies.*—In this century when Mastrius lived and wrote, two very different schools of European philosophy flourished. One was the Aristotelian-scholastic tradition, then enjoying a grand revival; the other was a new and radical departure, championed by Descartes, Hobbes, Leibniz, Locke, and Spinoza.

That seventeenth century revival of scholasticism has been ignored to a great extent by many historians of philosophy, at least until recently. About fifty years ago, for example, Maurice de Wulf lamented that "in the seventeenth century there was no one to support Scholasticism; it fell, not for lack of ideas, but for lack of defenders."<sup>57</sup>

Such a statement could hardly be supported today in view of the studies made since by Dominique de Caylus,<sup>58</sup> Bernard Jansen,<sup>59</sup> and Martin Grabman,<sup>60</sup> who show that defenders of scholasticism were plentiful.

For though revolutionary advances were not made in this period of scholastic endeavor, nevertheless the frontiers established by masters of an earlier century were being defended vigorously. We would distort the history of seventeenth century if we were to ignore the work done by its scholastic thinkers just because they were not of a caliber equal to St. Thomas or Duns Scotus.

Actually the seventeenth century defense of scholasticism failed to stem the tide of rationalism sweeping over Europe. But it does not follow necessarily that either scholasticism or

57. "Philosophy," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 32.

58. Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux Épanouissement de l'École Scotiste au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *Études Franciscaines*, XXIV (Juillet, 1910), 5-21; XXIV (Novembre, 1910), 493-502; XXV (Janvier, 1911), 35-47; XXV (Juin, 1911), 627-645.

59. Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Skotisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 28-58, 150-175.

60. Martin Grabman, *Die Geschichte der Katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit* (Herders Theologische Grundrisse, Freiburg im Breisgau; Herder, 1933), Chapt. II. See also G. Fritz and A. Michel, "Scholastique," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XIV, 1717.

scholastics had been found wanting. Probably they simply had not been found. They failed to stem the tide because they failed to exert an appreciable influence one way or another. They had lost contact with their opponents, partly through the disruption of the Church's bond of unity, partly through preoccupation with theology in an age which was fascinated by the powers of unaided reason.

*Emphasis on theology.*—It seems to have been necessary that the scholastics were interested primarily in theology; their principal work was to defend and expound the Church's doctrine. This had generally been their preoccupation in the past, and it was their duty in the seventeenth century, when the revival of learning played so important a part in the Counter-Reformation.

The Council of Trent was doubtless the biggest instrument in bringing about this revival. The discussions during the council naturally stimulated considerable theological speculation; the disciplinary decrees issued by the council provided for a program to advance Catholic scholarship.<sup>61</sup>

As a result of the council, the later years of the sixteenth century and most of the seventeenth witnessed a revival of scholastic philosophy and theology in those circles where the Church could still exert her influence.

*New technique.*—The general trend of theology was to study and elaborate on the mediaeval masters. This involved a new technique. Previously, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the standard textbook had been Peter Lombard's *Quatuor Libri Sententiarum*. But with the beginning of the new revival, the *Summa Theologica* of Saint Thomas took its place. Instead of writing commentaries on the Sentences, scholastics now wrote commentaries on the *Summa*.<sup>62</sup> The classic examples of this type of commentary are the famous philosophical and theological *cursus* of the *Salmanticenses* and *Complutenses*.<sup>63</sup> The

61. Grabman, *op. cit.*, p. 154. See also Bernard J. Otten, *A Manual of the History of Dogmas* (second edition, St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1925), II, 478 f.

62. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, 479. See also, Jansen, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

63. See Benedict Zimmerman, "Salmanticenses and Complutenses," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 401 f.

Scotists of the period, including Mastrius, were an exception to this policy.<sup>64</sup> They continued to write commentaries on the Sentences and on the works of Aristotle, "*ad mentem Scoti*."

*Thomistic scholars.*—Within the Thomistic school two main trends developed: the Dominican, which aimed at strict interpretation of the Angelic Doctor; and the Jesuit, which was more in favor of adapting the original teaching to suit the current needs.<sup>65</sup> The two interpretations came into conflict especially over the doctrine of grace.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps their relative strength can be judged by the number of theologians Grabman considers important enough to list under each group. He names forty-six "Thomists"<sup>67</sup> and thirty-five Jesuits<sup>68</sup> of this seventeenth century period.

*Franciscan scholars.*—Other Religious Communities also contributed learned men to the cause of studies, but space will permit here a consideration of only the Franciscans, who provide the immediate background for this study of Mastrius. By way of comparison with the Dominican and Jesuit scholars mentioned above, it may be noted that Grabman in that same place lists twenty-six Franciscans, including both Scotists and Bonaventureans.<sup>69</sup> The number is not complete, but it provides a basis for comparison by selection of the more prominent men in each group.

64. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, 479, 482.

65. Jansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

66. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, Chapt. XXVII, "School Differences."

67. *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-165.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-172.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-168. Grabman repeats here a quotation that Caylus has in his article in the *Étude Franciscains*, XXIV, July, 1910), 6. It is a quotation supposedly in Caramuel, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*, II, disp. 10. Caramuel is quoted as saying: "Scoti schola numerosior est aliis simul sumptis." But I was not able to trace the quotation. In fact, the arrangement of material in the book is such that the reference, "lib. II, disp. 19," does not seem to make sense. Book II is not divided into *disputationes*.

Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., has the first and another edition of Caramuel: Joannis Caramuelis Lobkowitz, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*. . . (Frankfort: Schonwetter, 1651-1653), 2 vols. in one; in quarto. The other edition is from Lyons, 1675 sqq.—4 vols. in folio.

There is evidence of a Scotistic rejuvenation already in the early 1500's. Several works appeared in that century before the Council of Trent. Altogether the sixteenth century produced at least twenty-four prominent theological and philosophical writers. P. Raymond lists these, as well as thirty-eight men who wrote on theology in the 1600's, and eighteen who published philosophical works in that same period.<sup>70</sup>

*The Bonaventuran school.*—An effort was made also to revive greater interest in the doctrine of Saint Bonaventure. The founding of Saint Bonaventure College in Rome by Sixtus V, in 1588,<sup>71</sup> was a step in that direction. And though this college was established among the Conventuals, the Capuchin Friars took more interest in the Seraphic Doctor than either the Conventuals or the Observants.<sup>72</sup> D'Alençon lists thirteen Capuchin scholastics of the Bonaventuran school in the seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup>

*Bzovius.*—In 1616 the Scotistic school received an indirect impetus when Father Abram Bzovius, a Dominican Friar, published his continuation of Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*.<sup>74</sup> In the course of that work, Bzovius ridiculed Scotus and his followers and included in the attack an unfounded account of Scotus' sup-

70. P. Raymond, "Duns Scot," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV, 1943-1946.

71. See above, Section I.

72. E. d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 840.

73. *Ibid.*, cols. 844-846.

74. Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538-1607) published 12 volumes of his project, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, between 1588 and 1607. Upon his death several other historians were commissioned to continue the work. Baronius had left off at the year 1198. A. Ingold, "Baronius," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 426.

Among the continuators of Baronius' work was Abraham Bzovius (Bzowski), a Dominican Friar (1567-1637). He published volumes 13 to 21 (carrying the *Annales* from 1198 to 1572) between 1616 and 1672—some of it posthumously. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I, 339.

Bzovius overemphasized the place of Religious Orders in the history of the Church. Mansi writes: "Quantum in rebus monarchorum tradendis copiosi, tantum in rebus Ecclesiasticis sunt parci." *Annales Ecclesiastici denuo excusi et ad nostra usque tempora perducti ab Augustino Theiner* (Barri-Ducis, Ludovicus Guerin, 1870), XX, iv.

posed premature burial.<sup>75</sup> To the credit of Bzovius' Order it must be noted that the Dominican Master General condemned the abusive attack.<sup>76</sup>

*Defense of Scotus.*—Bzovius had already incited the indignation of the Franciscans, however, and immediately they began publishing several defenses of the Subtle Doctor and his school.<sup>77</sup> Father Matthew Ferchio,<sup>78</sup> a Conventual Friar (of whom more will be said later), and two Observant Friars, Fathers Hugh Cavellus<sup>79</sup> and Anthony Hickey,<sup>80</sup> were among the men who published at this time a life and vindication of Scotus.

Spurred to new interest in Scotus, the Franciscans were not content with defensive measures. They published new editions of Scotus' works and continued with increased zeal to teach his doctrine in their schools.<sup>81</sup> Probably the most outstanding man in this project was the Observant Friar, Father Luke Wadding, who (besides his other achievements, in theology and scripture) wrote the extensive *Annales Minorum*, founded the College of Saint Isidore in Rome (1625), and then with the help of the alumni of this college produced a new edition of all Scotus' works (1639).<sup>82</sup>

75. Bzovius wrote quite a panegyric on the Dominican Order and disparaged the work of the Franciscans. Doninique de Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 9. A copy of Bzovius' attack is printed by Caylus in footnote no. 1, pp. 12 and 13 of that article.

For more information on Bzovius see also: *The Encyclopedia Americana*, V, 112; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 307.

76. Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 9.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

78. *Apologia pro Joanne Duns Scotus . . .* Cologne, 1619; *Correptio Scotica J. D. Scoti . . . vitam et mortem explicans*, Chambery, 1620; *Vita Beati Joannis Dunsii Scoti . . .*, Bologne, 1622, 1623. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2170.

79. *Scoti commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, Accedit vita Scoti, apologia contra Abr. Bzovium . . .* Anvers, 1620. É. d'Alençon, "Cavellus," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 2045 f.

80. *Nitela franciscanae religionis et abstersio sordium quibus eam conspurcare frustra tentavit Abraham Bzovius*, Lyons, 1627. É. d'Alençon, "Hickey," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 2359.

81. Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXV, 36 f.

82. Maurice Grajewski, "John Ponce, Franciscan Scotist of the seventeenth century," *Franciscan Studies*, VI (March, 1946), pp. 60 f.

Other Scotists of the period were the Conventuals, Philip Faber (d. 1630), Maurus Centini (d. 1640), Angelus Vulpes (d. 1647), Francis Pontelonghi (d. 1680), Alexander Rossi (d. 1686); the Capuchins, Jesuald Bologni (d. 1653), Illumine Oddi (d. 1683); and the Observants, John Munoz (d. 1649), John Ponce (d. ca. 1660), Francis Macedo (d. 1681), and John Bosco (d. 1684).<sup>83</sup>

These writers represent that part of the Scotistic contribution to the general revival of scholastic learning which flourished during the forty-odd years that Mastrius and Belluti were active. Twelve of those forty years the two companions worked together on philosophy. Later they wrote separately in the field of theology, as will be pointed out in the following pages. First to be considered here, however, is their philosophical career.

#### *Philosophical Works*

*Teaching assignments, 1628-1640.*—After receiving their degree from Saint Bonaventure College, Rome, about 1628,<sup>84</sup> Mastrius and Belluti went to their assignment as Regents of Studies at the Order's school in Cesena.<sup>85</sup> This means that they were in charge of the school's scholastic program, its students, and its professors.<sup>86</sup> Though theology was the subject proper to a gymnasium of the second class<sup>87</sup> (as Cesena was supposed to be),<sup>88</sup> Mastrius and Belluti were probably teaching philosophy there.<sup>89</sup>

83. É. d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 841-846.

84. See above, p. 108.

85. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

86. "The Regent . . . is the head of all studies, both of Lectors and Auditors, in all things pertaining to studies. . . ." *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 5, par. 19.

87. *Ibid.*, tit. 4, par. 13.

88. *Ibid.*, par. 23.

89. From Mastrius' own words we learn that both he and his rival John Ponce lectured on the material they later embodied in their philosophical works. In the *Appendix Generalis*, oppositio secunda (*Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, 1708 ed., Vol. III, p. 457) Mastrius defends himself against the accusation of Ponce that he (Mastrius) had copied material from Ponce, perhaps through notes taken by

Within four or five years the two confreres were appointed Regents of Studies at Perugia.<sup>90</sup> Thereafter they were sent to Padua where at first they taught as public lecturers.<sup>91</sup> Later they became Regents of Studies in the Order's school there.<sup>92</sup> The dates of their various appointments can be ascertained to some extent from the dates of their publications during this period.

*Works published in collaboration with Belluti.*—The first of Mastrius' and Belluti's philosophical works, a small textbook of logic called *Logica Parva*, was published in 1630 while they were stationed at Cesena.<sup>93</sup>

They continued to work on logic, preparing a more complete volume. But they laid aside this work for a while, however, to publish their *Disputationes super Libros Physicorum*. The reason for this decision is not clear. Franchini says there was some doubt about whether another Scotist was going to publish a course beginning with physics.<sup>94</sup> But in what way this influenced Mastrius and Belluti, Franchini does not explain. At any rate their physics was published in Rome, 1637, while they were stationed at Perugia.<sup>95</sup>

Ponce's students. Mastrius answered that the opposite might just as easily have been the case—that Ponce may have seen some of Mastrius' notes. ". . . nam etiam et nostra scripta circumferebantur a Nostris [discipulis], unde continere potuit, quod ad manus quoque suas [Pontii] pervenerint. . . ."

90. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88. This was a gymnasium first class, and therefore supposedly theological. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 4, pars. 13 and 22. It is difficult to determine for certain whether Mastrius and Belluti were teaching philosophy or theology during this whole period of their philosophical publications, i. e., 1630-1640.

91. The Urban Constitutions speak of lectures given within the Order's schools which outsiders could attend. These lectures were called public, as distinguished from those to which outsiders were never admitted. Public lectures were given by Regents or Lectors appointed by the Chapter. Cap. V, tit. 5, par. 16.

92. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

93. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 and 92. Since Mastrius and Belluti did not have time enough during the school year, they worked on this book during their vacation at nearby Meldola, Mastrius' home town.

The date for this publication is given by Mastrius in the introductory "Lectori benevolo," *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, (Venetiis; Valuasensum, 1664).

94. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 88 and 93.

The book was well received; its first edition of 1,000 copies lasted only five years. Letters of congratulations came from several quarters—from Cardinal Centino, a great philosopher and theologian, and from the leading philosophers of Padua, Pisa, Bologna, and Cracovia. Luke Petroschi of the University of Cracovia said the book would be used there as a text in the Scotistic school of philosophy.<sup>96</sup>

Mastrius and Belluti were a growing success. In order to facilitate their work, in 1638<sup>97</sup> they went to Padua where they would be near the Venetian printing houses.<sup>98</sup>

Their progress at Padua was rapid. In 1639 they published their extended work on logic: *Disputationes in Organum Aristoteles*. Next they published two volumes in rapid succession, both in 1640: *Disputationes in Libros de Coelo, Mundo, Metheoris*, and *Disputationes in Libros de Generatione et Corruptione*.<sup>99</sup>

Their next work, *Disputationes in Libros de Anima*, was the last on which they collaborated.<sup>100</sup> It was probably published in 1640,<sup>101</sup> before the partnership was discontinued.

*Belluti's departure.*—In that year (1640) or the next, Belluti was called back to his native Catena, Sicily.<sup>102</sup> It brought to an

96. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

97. É. d'Alençon, "Belluti, Bonaventure," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

98. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, 93.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

101. Consult the Appendix on Works by Mastrius for dispute on the date of this publication.

See also below, p. 122, note 131.

102. Franchini says it was in 1640. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

É. d'Alençon says that Belluti returned when the third year of their regency at Padua had expired, and that they were in Padua from 1638 to 1641. "Belluti, Bonaventure," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

In 1645, shortly after his return to Sicily, Belluti was elected Minister Provincial. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

He also became Consultor and Censor of the Inquisition in Sicily. Hyacinth Sbaraleae, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci* (editore doct. Attilio Nardecchia; Romae: 1908), I, 186.

Nevertheless Belluti found opportunity to continue his studies. Like Mastrius he turned to theology, writing the following works: *De Incarnatione Verbi*



end his fifteen years of companionship and close collaboration with Mastrius. The two friars had worked well together; "they appeared as two minds in one soul, one soul in two bodies."<sup>103</sup> Though alike in their scholastic aims, their natural temperaments were nevertheless quite different. Belluti was grave, composed, serious; Mastrius was more gay and pleasant, "*buomo di genio ameno*."<sup>104</sup> These differences, however, seem to have been more complementary than antagonistic, judging from their long partnership.

In 1640, before Belluti left for Sicily, he and Mastrius were awarded the dignity of Perpetual Definitorship;<sup>105</sup> it was an honor customarily given by the Order to its men who had taught for a number of years.<sup>106</sup>

*Mastrius completes the philosophy in Ravenna.*—After Belluti's return to Sicily, Mastrius finished the philosophy course by himself, according to an agreement that he and Belluti had made.<sup>107</sup> All that the course needed now was a treatise on metaphysics, and Mastrius wrote it in Ravenna while engaged as a theologian in the services of Cardinal Luigi Capponi, Legate to that city.<sup>108</sup>

Living as he did in the Cardinal's household, Mastrius had the opportunity occasionally to discuss his work on metaphysics with his host. Later, in dedicating the first volume to him, Mastrius thanked the Cardinal for the help he had given in these discussions.<sup>109</sup>

*Dei* (Catanae: de Rubeis, 1645); *De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, before 1655 (it remained in ms.); *Opuscula moralia, canonica, theologica apparatu miscellaneo digesta* (Catanae: Bisagnum, 1679). Sbaralea, *loc. cit.* Belluti died May 18, 1679. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 20.

103. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

105. *Definitores Generalis vel Provinciales* were advisers to the Minister General or Provincial. They also had an active voice in electing the Minister General or Provincial. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. VIII, tit. 23.

106. The honor given for teaching was that of *Provincial* Definitorship in their own Province. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 4, par. 9.

107. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

108. *Ibid.*

109. Letter of dedication to *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. libros metaphysicorum* (Venetiis: Ginammi, 1646), Tomus prior.

Mastrius had more time to devote to his own project during the summer of 1644 when Cardinal Capponi was absent from Ravenna to attend the conclave in Rome.<sup>110</sup> In 1645 the first part of the metaphysics was approved, but it was not printed until the following year, 1646.<sup>111</sup> Although the second part was ready for immediate publication, it was postponed until 1647 so that in the meantime the printer could run off a second edition of the logic—lest, as Mastrius remarked—the course be without a head. The previous edition had been completely exhausted.<sup>112</sup>

The completion of the metaphysics crowned the work which Mastrius and Belluti had begun some twenty years before.<sup>113</sup>

### *Controversies*

It was one thing, however, to complete the philosophy course itself and another to defend it against criticism, as Mastrius learned. His controversies constitute one of the most interesting phases of his career.

His principal opponents were Father Matthew Ferchio and Father John Ponce. There were others as well, but none tested his ability as much as Ferchio and Ponce. Mastrius compared them to two elephants attacking a mouse (himself) with their boisterous efforts to frighten him.<sup>114</sup> Upon examining the style

110. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXX, 15.

I was unable to determine when Cardinal Capponi's mission to Ravenna was finished, but it was probably about the time of his appointment to the Prefecture of Propaganda, i. e., sometime after September, 1645. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 191.

111. The dates of approval, August 28, 1645, for the first volume; September, 1645, for the second. The dates of publication: 1646 and 1647. I saw the copy of this edition in Holy Name College Library, Washington, D. C.

112. "Ad lectorem auctorem," in the *Disputationes in libros metaphysicorum*, Tomus prior.

113. Eventually the various philosophical *Disputationes* were gathered together into a "*Cursus integer philosophiae ad mentem Scoti*," the details of which publication are to be found in the Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

114. "Ad lectorem," in the *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*. This particular introduction must have been written for some edition other than the first, perhaps the 1652 or 1659 edition. For in 1640, when the first edition appeared, the controversy with Ponce had not yet begun. The edition I used was the 1708 edition of the *Cursus integer*.

of Mastrius' polemics, however, one wonders if he had not underestimated his own abilities in this comparison.

*Against Ferchio.*—From 1638 to 1640, Belluti, Mastrius and Ferchio were together in Padua.<sup>115</sup> Ferchio had already achieved considerable prominence in the Order by that time. He had been among the very first to defend Scotus against Bzovius, and he had followed up that defense with other works on the Subtle Doctor.<sup>116</sup> He had taught in various schools of the Order, and had but recently succeeded to the chair of theology at the University of Padua.<sup>117</sup> Mastrius and Belluti, on the other hand, were both about twenty years younger than Ferchio and were comparatively inexperienced at writing philosophy.<sup>118</sup>

In 1639 Ferchio published his *Vestigiones Peripateticæ* wherein he defended the proposition that the term "creation" in Sacred Scripture did not mean production of something out of nothing, but the production of something out of pre-existing matter.<sup>119</sup> Since the question was intimately concerned with the problem of the eduction of form from matter, the philosophical authority of Aristotle found its way into Ferchio's arguments alongside the testimonies of Scripture and Tradition.

Mastrius and Belluti attacked the position of their older colleague in their *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*, which they published the following year, 1640. They contended that the conclusions of the *Vestigiones* ran contrary to the constant and traditional interpretation of the Stagirite on substantial form.<sup>120</sup>

In 1646 Ferchio replied with his *Defensio Vestigationum Peripateticarum . . . ab offensionibus Belluti et Mastrii*. The tenor

115. See above, p. 115.

116. See above, p. 113.

117. For life and works of Ferchio see: É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2170-2172; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-453.

118. Ferchio's dates: 1583-1669; Mastrius': 1602-1673; Belluti's: 1598/99-1676.

119. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 and 433.

120. *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*, Disp. 5, quest. II, art. ii.

of this defense can be judged by the fact that it was condemned by the Holy Office "*donec corrigatur*," May 12, 1655.<sup>121</sup>

Even before the condemnation Mastrius published a counter defense entitled: *Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus, & Mastrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis*. He finished the book in 1647, but it was not published until 1651, and then unfortunately it was marred by typographical and orthographical errors due to the printer's limited acquaintance with Latin.<sup>122</sup>

Mastrius had also inserted lengthy refutations of Ferchio in the *Disputationes in XII. Arist. Stag. libros Metaphysicorum*,<sup>123</sup> and later he included refutations *passim* in the *Disputationes theologicae*. But he referred most of the philosophical problems arising in those theological works back to the philosophy already published.

Meanwhile Ferchio continued to write on various subjects, but nothing was found by the present writer to indicate whether Ferchio continued the debate with Mastrius. Another of his subsequent works, however, was censured by the Church.<sup>124</sup>

During the controversy, and even afterwards, feeling ran high within the Order. But evidently Ferchio's position was not shaken; he continued to hold the chair of theology at Padua until his death, September 8, 1669.<sup>125</sup>

*Against Ponce.*—In the same year that Ferchio wrote his *Vestigiones Peripateticae*, 1639, an Observant Franciscan was helping Luke Wadding in Rome publish a new edition of Scotus' works. He was Father John Ponce, who had gone from Ireland to the Continent and after having studied in Cologne and Louvain, went to Rome and became one of the first three students at Wadding's new College of Saint Isidore. When he

121. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171.

122. *Ibid.*; see also Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

123. Tom. 2, d. 12, q. 4 ff. It is in this place that Mastrius refutes extensively Ferchio's notion of creation.

124. *Il gusto afflito di Giesu Christo nostro Signore* (Venice, 1663) was condemned by the Holy Office in 1664. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171.

125. *Ibid.*, col. 2170.

finished his studies he remained to teach in Rome and to help Wadding with the new edition of Scotus.<sup>126</sup> It came off the press in 1639.<sup>127</sup> Some of the commentary which accompanied it was from the pen of Ponce.<sup>128</sup>

Shortly after the new edition was published, Ponce came out with a complete philosophy course entitled: *Philosophiae ad Mentem Scoti Cursus Integer*. This was sometime between 1641 and 1643.<sup>129</sup> Ponce introduced his work as the first complete Scotistic philosophy. "Cum autem nemo, quod sciam, integram ante me Philosophiam ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis exegerit,

126. For life and works of Ponce, see: Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (ed. Nardecchi, 1906), p. 149; Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana* (Matriti: 1732), II, 205 f.; Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 396; Maurice Grajewski, "John Ponce, Franciscan Scotist of the Seventeenth Century," *Franciscan Studies*, VI (March, 1936), 54-92.

127. "In 1639 Wadding and his associates published the complete works of Duns Scotus at Lyons in sixteen volumes (folio). This monumental edition, the first ever to be produced, was conceived by Wadding and carried out by him and his collaborators, Hugh Cavellus and John Ponce. Four years were devoted to the preparation of the texts." Grajewski, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

128. "It consists in a commentary on every question of the *Opus Oxonienses* of Duns Scotus, beginning with Book III, distinction 34 and continuing to the end." *Ibid.*, p. 67.

129. Father Grajewski dates the first edition 1643, but he says that he had at hand only the third volume. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The second volume, which I have seen at Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., is dated 1642. Its full title reads: *Integer Philosophiae Cursus ad mentem Scoti in tres partes divisus Secunda pars complectens physicam, & libros de caelo Auctore R. P. Fr. Ioanne Poncio Hyberno Corraciensis Sac. Theol. Lector lubilato Romae sumptibus Hermaani Scheus M. D. CXXXII.*

In the 1659 edition of Ponce's *Cursus*, approbations of earlier editions are reprinted, the earliest being Dec. 10, 1641.

The printer of Mastrius and Belluti's second edition of the *Disputationes super libros physicorum*, gives evidence that the first volume of Ponce's *Cursus* was published in 1641. Though this printer does not call Ponce by name, the identification is obvious, especially in view of the controversy which followed. Here are the words of the printer: "Quod autem ego ipse Typographus aegre tuli, est, quod in epistola nuncupatoria Auctor ille applaudit primum fuisse, qui Cursum Philosophicum ex integro in via Scoti in lucem dederit; Quod quantum a veritate distet, ex impressione ipsorum voluminum deprehendi potest, nam Cursus illius Recentioris sub anno 1641. impressus est, at meorum Auctorum Disputationes Physicae sub anno 1637." *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti Cursus Integer* (Venetiis: Pezzana, 1708), Tomus Secundus, "Ad lectorem Typographus."

P. Raymond, "Duns Scot," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV, 1945, says that Ponce's *Philosophiae cursus integer* was published in Rome, 1642.

non miraberis intitia suas habere imperfectiones . . . ”<sup>130</sup> This claim must be tempered with the consideration that his work is much briefer than Mastrius’ and Belluti’s, and that by the time he published it they had given to the public four and perhaps five of their seven volumes, some of which were already out of print.<sup>131</sup>

The question of claiming priority is, however, of less importance than the philosophical controversies between Ponce and Mastrius. It was Ponce who opened the debate by attacking an explanation of causality in generation that Mastrius and Belluti made in their *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*.<sup>132</sup>

An answer was not long in coming. In the next work of Mastrius to come from the press—the revised edition of *Disputationes in octo libros physicorum*, 1644—the printer of the book attacked Ponce with unseemingly vehemence. He attempted to show that neither in his conclusions nor in his manner of argumentation was Ponce faithful to Scotus. Mastrius curtailed his own answers in this work because he did not want to make it too bulky; he preferred to postpone most of his arguments until he could devote proper space to the problems in the forthcoming metaphysics.<sup>133</sup>

Meanwhile Ponce published an *Appendix Apologetica* and added it to his *Cursus*, 1645.<sup>134</sup> Mastrius, too, added an appendix to his work, *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*; in fact he added two: an *Appendix Generalis* and an *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, the former consisting of ten articles, the latter of fifteen, all against Ponce.<sup>135</sup>

130. This wording of the introduction was taken from the revised 1659 edition in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

131. *Disputationes in libros physicorum*, 1637; — *in organum*, 1639; — *in libros de coelo*, etc., 1640; — *in libros de generatione et corruptione*, 1640; — *de anima*, 1640/41 or 1643. See Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

132. In Ponce: *Dispt. XXIII De Generatione*, Quest. V, n. 35. In Mastrius and Belluti, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, Quest. II, Art. ii.

133. Mastrius, *Disputationes in libros metaphysicorum*, Tom. I, introduction “Ad lectorem Auctor.”

134. Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 69.

135. They appear in Vol. III of the 1708 edition of the *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti Cursus Integer*, pp. 457-492.

Further arguments are to be found *passim* in Mastrius' theological works,<sup>136</sup> whether Ponce continued the controversy in his own *Theologicae Cursus Integer* and *Commentarii Theologici*<sup>137</sup> is not evident from the sources at hand.

Ponce and Mastrius disagreed about many ideas, some of them lying close to the core of distinctive Scotistic philosophy. Such, for example, were their arguments over the univocity of the concept of being and about the formal distinction.<sup>138</sup> In general Ponce did not adhere as strictly to Scotus as Mastrius thought was necessary. Father Grajewski says of Ponce that "he accepts the Scotistic position on principle, but on rare occasions he rises above it—not so much to contradict the doctrine but to disagree with the arguments proposed."<sup>139</sup>

Mastrius did not object to finding other arguments for Scotus' position—for Scotus himself borrowed arguments from others. Mastrius furthermore admitted that Ponce did much to clarify some questions in philosophy. But he challenged Ponce's right to claim allegiance "*ad mentem Scoti*" when he differed from the Subtle Doctor in several conclusions. Moreover, Mastrius did not approve of introducing into Scotistic philosophy, as he claimed Ponce had introduced, the ideas of more recent schools of thought.<sup>140</sup>

To what extent Scotistic philosophy can be altered, to what extent it can absorb newer notions and still retain its integrity,

136. E. g., on the contraction of being: *Disputationes theologicae in primum librum sententiarum*, D. 3, Q. 2, art. 2.

137. Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.

138. For a list of differences between the opinions of Mastrius and Ponce, see Mastrius' "Appendix Generalis," nona oppositio, to be found in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer* (Venetiis: apud N. Pezzana, 1708), III, 462.

See also the criticism against Ponce written by the printer of Mastrius' and Belluti's second edition of the *Disputationes in libros physicorum*, *Ibid.*, II, "Ad Lectorem Typographus" (in beginning of volume). In this place was found reference to the dispute about univocity of the concept of being and about formal distinction.

See also Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 78, 79, 88, 89, 91.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

140. "Appendix Generalis," oppositio nona.

are questions for the philosopher, not the historian. They lie outside the scope of the present study.

*Other controversies.*—Mention should be made, however, of three other writers with whom Mastrius had occasion to debate, all three his confreres in religion.

Father Alexander Rossi (1608-1686) was at one time a pupil of Mastrius and Belluti at Cesena.<sup>141</sup> He advanced several theological objections, and Mastrius answered them in the *Disputationes theologicae in primum et secundum librum sententiarum*.<sup>142</sup>

The other two opponents were Father Francis Pontelonghi (d. 1680), a philosopher,<sup>143</sup> and Monsignor Modesto Gavazzi (d. 1658), a theologian and Procurator of the Order, whom Pope Alexander VII consecrated Archbishop of Chieti in 1657.<sup>144</sup>

*Resulting discord.*—Of all his opponents, however, none tested Mastrius' acumen as much as Ferchio and Ponce did. He himself admitted this.<sup>145</sup> Undoubtedly the keenness of the debates sharpened the wits of all concerned; unfortunately it also sharpened their words as well, and the brilliance of their scholarship is tarnished by the ill feelings aroused not only among the men themselves, but even among their followers. Franchini, writing some thirty years after the death of Mastrius and Ferchius, was still reluctant to discuss the controversies at all, lest "recently healed wounds of discord be reopened."<sup>146</sup> He treats them solely for the sake of history.

141. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Joannes a S. Antonio, *op. cit.*, I, 35.

142. E. g., that the relations of origin are not beings: I Sent. d. 7, part 3, num. 30-42; and in II Sent., 4 articles in the appendix. These references are cited by Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

143. Lorenzo Caratelli di Segni, *Manuale dei novizi e professi e laici Minori Conventuali sopra la regola, le costituzioni, le memorie e le funzioni dell'ordine coll'aggiunta del catechism di Roma e d'alcune preghiere* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1897), p. 334.

See also Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 245-251.

144. There were two men named Modesto Gavazzi. They were uncle and nephew, both Friars Minor Conventual. The one referred to here is the nephew. Caratelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 f.; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 504 f.

145. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 89.



## III.

## MASTRIUS' THEOLOGICAL WORK

*Transition*

*Additions to the philosophy.*—In 1647 after the second volume of *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. Libros Metaphysicorum* had been published and his assignment to Cardinal Capponi had been completed, Mastrius returned to Meldola.<sup>147</sup> He was anxious to reply to Ponce's *Appendix Apologetica*, which had come off the press just as his own metaphysics was being printed. There had been no opportunity in the metaphysics to answer Ponce on questions of natural philosophy (which included *de physice, coelo, mundi, metheoris, generatione, corruptione, et anima*), so Mastrius wanted to publish new editions of the *Disputationes de coelo, mundi et metheoris* and *de generatione et corruptione* with rebuttals inserted in their proper places.<sup>148</sup>

During this same year he finished writing *Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus, & Mastrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis*, but he was not able to publish it immediately.<sup>149</sup> Nor could he revise the natural philosophy at once. Both delays were due partly to a shortage in materials and to the inability of the printers to take on more work at that time.<sup>150</sup>

*Minister Provincial, 1647-1650.*—But the principal reason for the delay was that on September 17 of that year, 1647, Mastrius was appointed Minister Provincial of the native province of Bologna.<sup>151</sup> So for the next three years he was too busy with

147. ". . . while at Ravenna, he (Mastrius) wrote and had printed all the Metaphysics in two volumes. . . . After the Cardinal left, since he had finished his mission, Father Mastrius also left and went back to Meldola." This was certainly before September, 1647, when Mastrius' term as Provincial of Bologna began. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

148. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer*, III, 457.

149. E. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

150. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457.

151. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

the administration of his Province to do any writing or publishing. Franchini praises his administration in general and adds this one personal detail: Mastrius received him into the Order in December, 1649.<sup>152</sup> None of the sources consulted provided any further details of the provincialate.

A Minister Provincial ordinarily was to be elected by the senior Fathers of the Province.<sup>153</sup> There were, however, provisions in the Constitutions by which the major superior (in this instance the Minister General) was to fill an office by appointment in the event that a decisive ballot was not cast by the electors within one day.<sup>154</sup> This is probably what happened in Mastrius' case, for he definitely speaks of having been appointed by Father Michael Angelus Cattalanus, the Minister General. And he speaks of the appointment as a kind of recognition or reward for the work he had done in Scotistic philosophy.<sup>155</sup>

Although it may have been a reward, the term in office proved to be a hindrance to Mastrius' writing. It delayed his revision of the philosophy and interrupted his study habits, thereby making his transition to writing theology all the more difficult. Nevertheless, when his term as Provincial was completed in 1650, he went back to his studies determined to overcome the handicap.

*Illness, 1650-1651.*—But again he was delayed, this time because of illness. The winter of 1650-1651 was severe in Italy, and Mastrius, working long hours from the early morning, came down with quartan fever.<sup>156</sup>

Upon his recovery he decided to have the *Disputationes de coelo, mundi, et metheoris* reprinted without revision. This would save time and would appease the printers who now were pressing him. In republishing the *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione* (1652), however, he made a few revisions by way

152. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

153. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. VIII, Titulus 32.

154. *Ibid.*, Cap. VIII, Titulus 3.

155. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457; also his introductory letter "Ad lectorem" to the *Theologia Moralis* (Venetiis: Hertz, 1709). This, the 5th ed. is the one I used at Freidsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

156. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

of answering Ponce's objections. But he collected most of these rebuttals into an *Appendix Generalis*,<sup>157</sup> which together with an *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, were printed after the *De generatione et corruptione*, most probably in 1652 or 1659.<sup>158</sup> In 1652 a new edition of the *Disputationes in Arist. Stag. de anima* was also published, but nothing further is said about it.<sup>159</sup>

### Dogmatic Theology

*First volume, 1655.*—During this same period Mastrius had also begun to write the first volume of his theology. He found the change from provincial administration and philosophy rather difficult to make. It was as if he were starting theology anew. He remarked that it was like going back to the days of his study in Naples, nearly thirty years before.<sup>160</sup> It took him five years (until 1655) to complete the *Disputationes Theologicae in Primum Librum Sententiarum*.<sup>161</sup>

In his theological works Mastrius did not propose to treat *all* the tracts in the Books of the Sentences; he said there were enough commentaries like that already available. Moreover, he was getting too old to launch so extensive a project. Mastrius therefore limited himself to the controversial tracts.<sup>162</sup> But he gave these such thorough analysis that "it would have taken twenty volumes if he had written about all theology as he wrote about the controversial points."<sup>163</sup> He believed that an extensive analysis was of the greatest help in securing clarity of thought and expression. Various opinions, he believed, should be treated

157. From the first three paragraphs of the *Appendix Generalis* itself.

158. The copy I saw appears in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer* (Venetiis: apud Nicolaum Pezzana, 1708), III, 457-492.

159. É. d'Alençon, "Belluti," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

160. "When he would leave the other Fathers of the community to go to his room and study he would say to them, 'Io vado a Napoli' ('I go to Naples'), meaning that it was like going back to his student days of Theology." Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92. This is further evidence that his teaching career from 1630 to 1640 was not of theology but of philosophy.

161. *Ibid.*

162. Mastrius, *Disputationes in primum librum sententiarum*, "Ad lectorem."

163. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

individually. He was not content to group them under a few headings.<sup>164</sup>

*Second volume, 1659.*—Once back in stride, Mastrius was able to finish the next volume in shorter time, by 1657. But this, the *Disputationes in secundum librum*, was delayed almost two years in publication because of bubonic plague which ravaged the principal cities of Italy during 1656-1657.<sup>165</sup>

Mastrius was in Rome two years later, 1659, assisting the newly appointed Minister General, Father James Fabretti. While there Mastrius absorbed something of the Romans' enthusiastic response to Pope Alexander's magnanimity. As an expression of this admiration, Mastrius (in the name of the whole Order) dedicated his *Disputationes in secundum librum* to the Holy Father.<sup>166</sup>

He presented the document of dedication to the Pope personally, and during the audience, Alexander showed that he was already familiar with Mastrius' work and manner of controversy.

"Where did you learn to be so resentful with your pen in the public press," the Holy Father asked pleasantly.

"I learned it from Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome," Mastrius promptly replied. "They fought for their opinions of interpretation, and not without feeling."

"From such masters," the Pope said, smiling all the while, "you could have learned other things."

Mastrius bowed humbly and received the document back from the Pope, who then changed the subject of conversation to a more pleasant topic.<sup>167</sup>

164. Mastrius, *Disputationes in primum librum sententiarum*, "Ad lectorem."

165. Mastrius, *Disputationes in secundum librum sententiarum*, "Lectori auctor."

166. The plague broke out in Naples. By May, 1656, it had spread to Rome. Under the personal supervision of Pope Alexander VII, systematic quarantine curbed contagion to some extent. But even so, during the period between May, 1656, and August, 1657, 15,000 of Rome's 120,000 population fell victims of the plague. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 31-34.

Mastrius, *Disputationes in quartum librum sententiarum*, "Lectori Benevolo." Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

167. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

*Indices.*—In the introduction to this second volume Mastrius points out that he had, at the urging of students, supplied an additional index to the material in the book. The first volume had indices to the *disputationes* and the *quaestiones*, but now a third was added, an *Index Dubiorum*, to indicate the subject matter of the various “dubia” (discussions on doubtful matters) which were scattered throughout the work. At the same time he warned students that they would miss many important articles if they depended solely on the indices.<sup>168</sup>

In this same introduction Mastrius promised to publish the third and fourth books of theology very shortly.

*Third volume, 1661.*—The *Disputationes in tertium librum* appeared in 1661.<sup>169</sup> There is probably an interesting story about the manuscript of this third volume, for Mastrius tells us that it fell into the hands of thieves. But he does not satisfy our curiosity any further than saying the purloined manuscript was recovered through the intercession of Saint Anthony of Padua.<sup>170</sup>

*Vicar General, 1662.*—When Mastrius published this third volume of theology he thought he would be able to bring the fourth and final volume to the public within a year. But again his plans had to be changed. For in 1662 the Minister General, Father James Fabretti, appointed him Vicar General of Italy and its adjacent islands during his (the Minister General’s) visitation of the remote provinces of Germany. The office lasted for one year, and delayed the publication of the *Disputationes in quartum librum* until 1664.<sup>171</sup>

*Fourth volume, 1664.*—In this fourth volume, which concerns the sacraments, Mastrius departed from his usual policy. In the previous three volumes he had limited himself to a consideration of speculative theology; now he introduced some practical discussions as well. Consequently he found it necessary to make

168. Mastrius, *Disputationes in secundum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori Auctor.”

169. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

170. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, letter of dedication.

171. Mastrius, *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori benevolo”; also Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

use of several authors he had not referred to previously. Furthermore, he merely cited the names of these new sources, whereas in the other works he had made it a policy to give the full citation for every source used. (Citations of Scotus and some others were, however, still given in full).<sup>172</sup>

*General Chapter, 1665.*<sup>173</sup>—In the closing words of the fourth volume Mastrius promised to write a moral theology, “*si vita, et sanitas supererint.*” Though he was able to keep this promise as he had kept the others, an incident occurred in 1665 which could well have changed the story. Available references to this incident are not clear, however, and so it is difficult to determine just what happened and what Mastrius’ attitude really was.

In 1665 the General Chapter of the Order convened at Rome to elect a Minister General. Mastrius refers to the election in the introduction to the moral theology, but the full meaning of the reference is not clear. Addressing the reader he says:

Accept, dear reader, this work published at last, which you may accredit to the Seraphic Order, which in the election of superiors is accustomed to use the advice and doctrine of Cardinal de Lugo (disp. 34 de Justitia, & Jure sec. 3, referred to in this present volume at Disp. 6, de obligationibus justitiae distributivae, q. 1, art. 1, dist. 4) but never, or at least very seldom, observes the necessary limitations of that teaching which this very learned author most prudently places there; for if this had been done in the preceding Chapter, perhaps this work of Moral Theology would not have been published, or at least it would have been delayed. . . .

The reference to Cardinal de Lugo which Mastrius made at this point concerns the Cardinal’s doctrine that an electoral body has an obligation to choose the *most capable* man for an office, not just *any capable man*. The implication would seem to be that Mastrius believed the General Chapter had failed to elect the most capable candidate and that as a consequence the *Theologia Moralis* was able to be published. The implication is more

172. Mastrius, *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori benevolo.”

173. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, “Ad lectorem”; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

pointed when, in continuing, Mastrius remarks that such a delay would be comparable to that which he suffered on account of his appointment to the provincialate.<sup>174</sup>

Still more light is thrown on the situation by Franchini, who tells us that "there was talk about Father Mastrius for General at the General Chapter of 1665." But Franchini's explanation of why Mastrius was not elected is quite cryptic: "Certain clouds between Ravenna and Faenza also shaded the Sun of Meldola." Again, in another analogy, Franchini seems to hint that someone who could not himself win the election hindered Mastrius' chances.<sup>175</sup>

For whatever reasons there may have been, Mastrius was not elected Minister General. The available evidence seems too limited, however, to warrant further speculation about the reasons or to justify any definite conclusions about the impartiality of the election.

### *Moral Theology*

*Publication, 1671.*—Had Mastrius been chosen for the post very likely the *Theologia Moralis* would not have been published, as he himself testified. For he had just passed his sixtieth birthday and the weight of the years made his work more difficult than it had been in his younger days. It took him until 1669, five years, to complete this last book. In June of that year it received official approbation, but for some reason or other it was not published until 1671.<sup>176</sup>

*Sources.*—As is apparent from its full title, *Theologia Moralis ad mentem DD. Seraphici, & Subtilis concinnata*, Mastrius drew

174. There is a curious inconsistency at this point where Mastrius says that his appointment to the Provincialate impeded his progress on the *metaphysics*. According to all other information, his Provincialate began in 1647—the very year that the *metaphysics* was published. The delay he referred to was probably that of the second edition of some of the other philosophical works between 1650 and 1652, right after his Provincialate.

175. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

176. From the title page and letters of approval which I have seen in the first edition, found in Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

his material for this work from both St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. In the introduction he tells us that he drew also from other approved authors, always trying to avoid extremes of severity and laxity.<sup>177</sup>

"*De novissimis.*"—Besides the tracts ordinarily to be found in moral theologies, Mastrius included five disputations on the last things, viz., "de existentia purgatorii; de caelo, etc. statu beatorum; de inferno, etc. statu damnatorum; de resurrectione mortuorum iudicium universale praecedente; et de iudicio universale, seu finali post resurrectionem."<sup>178</sup>

He admitted that in placing these tracts in a moral theology he was not following the contemporary trend. But he did have a precedent in

the older Theologians . . . who in order to secure more firmly the purpose and scope of Moral Theology, which is to direct the consciences of men in their acts and to restrain them from sins, . . . usually added a treatise of the four last things after a special discussion on the sacraments . . . for there is no more efficacious motive to restrain man from sin than the thought of the last things, according to Ecclesiasticus: in all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin.<sup>179</sup>

### *Final Years*

*Valedictions.*—In writing of the last things perhaps Mastrius had in mind his own approaching death. He seems to have realized that the *Theologia Moralis* was to be his final work. At the end of the introduction he asks his readers to join him in thanking God and in praying for mercy.

Give thanks to God, the giver of all good things, by whose help I have, after forty years, reached an end of scholastic labors. Farewell; pray for me, who for both you and myself beg for mercy in the present life and especially in the future.

As an added gesture of farewell, Mastrius took the opportunity

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177. *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem."

178. From the table of contents.

179. *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem"; Ecclesiasticus 7, 40.



to dedicate this and his whole life's work to Saint Anthony of Padua.<sup>180</sup>

*Law.*—Notwithstanding these valedictions, Mastrius continued his studies, and even branched out into a new field, that of pontifical law. But any material he may have collected on that subject was never published.<sup>181</sup>

*Church repair.*—Another new field into which the aging scholar ventured in the closing years of his life was that of building. The Friars' church in Meldola was in had need of repairs and Mastrius undertook the supervision of its renovation. The original structure was over four hundred years old, having been erected about 1249, only twenty-three years after the death of Saint Francis.<sup>182</sup> Under Mastrius' direction the church was practically rebuilt. But death intervened before he could see the project finished.<sup>183</sup>

*Death and burial.*—Mastrius died early in the month of January, 1673, in Medola, where he had been born and spent his childhood, and where he had labored for nearly all the last twenty years of his life. There, in the convent at Meldola, he was also buried. He had lived to be slightly over seventy-one years of age.<sup>184</sup>

#### IV.

#### MASTRIUS THE MAN

##### *His Abilities*

*His wide range of abilities.*—Mastrius' life was predominately that of a scholar. He spent ten years of it in preparatory studies, twenty years in teaching and writing philosophy, and twenty more in writing theology. But not all his days were spent with books. He served three years as Minister Provincial,

180. There is a long letter of introduction at the beginning of the book.

181. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

182. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem."

183. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

and one year as Vicar General. During his philosophical career he was called to Ravenna to serve a Cardinal, and during his theological endeavors the Minister General called him to Rome for assistance. His later days, as has just been seen, found him also engaged in church construction.

*His special ability as a writer.*—His talents, then, were varied, but his real genius is revealed in the method and style of his writing. In preparing to write a book he would first read extensively on the subject. Then reflecting on what he had read in many sources, he would weigh and classify in his mind the various opinions. Having conceived a detailed plan of the whole topic, he would begin to write rapidly and so accurately (even though he did not use notes) "that you can never find a minor erasure or cancellation in his originals, nor did he make a second copy." When it was finished he would send this original and only copy to the printers.<sup>185</sup>

An outstanding feature of his work is the great number of authors whose opinions he cites. His references are a key to what any important philosopher or theologian up to his time had said on the subject under consideration. His works are a veritable library in themselves.<sup>186</sup>

In view of such seemingly cumbersome material as this, it is remarkable that Mastrius should have been able to achieve, as he did, a distinctively well-ordered presentation and a style that is at once clear and lively.<sup>187</sup>

Naturally Mastrius needed a rather extensive library to follow such a program. Fortunately the convent library at Meldola had been enriched by books that two centuries of learned theologians in the Order had left there. Mastrius moreover had acquired numerous books during his own teaching career. Others were lent to him by friends, such as Father Salvioni Servita Faenitino and another Father, of Forli, who was a former Observant Provincial. Then, too, Cardinal Rosseti da Ferrara,

185. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

186. Franchini said Mastrius deserved the title, "Doctor Ubertosus." *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

187. *Ibid.*

Bishop of Faenza and a great admirer of Mastrius, made his own rich library facilities available to him.<sup>188</sup>

### *His Personality*

Provided thus with the books he needed, Mastrius spent long hours each day in study. And yet he achieved a happy facility of interspersing his work with cultural relaxation. Franchini describes this in a passage that tells so much about Mastrius' personality that it deserves to be given here in full.

As soon as he [Mastrius] arose in the morning he buried himself in an alcove on the balcony at the top of the stairs in the convent at Meldola. There he remained until the hour for Tierce, when he would join the other friars to recite the divine office in choir (he never missed choir), and to say Mass. After dinner and Vespers he returned to his books until it was time for Compline.

If time permitted he would go out for a walk, since his doctor had ordered him to take some exercise lest he put on too much weight. He would walk in the shade of the poplar trees along the banks of the canal in Meldola, and because of these strolls the place came to be known as the amiable academy of the congenial Father Mastrius. (L'Academy di tutta l'amenita di quel bell'ingegno, & humore del P. Mastrio). After his walk he would return to his studies and spend part of the night at his desk, thus passing most of his life with books.

His self-mastery and the ease with which he carried his talent were remarkable. He was forever lost in books and all day long so wrapt in speculation that his face would fairly glow with the intensity of his concentration. A person would think that it would take hours for him to come out of his reverie and to be himself; and yet no sooner did he put one foot outside his little room than he became the most disengaged man in merry Meldola. When he would meet someone, or if he came across one or the other ugly dog that he had, he became so congenial that you would think he had not been busy at all.

He was certainly an amiable character, light-hearted, clever, cultured, and pleasant. To share his brief recreation (which he usually took along the banks of the Aganippeo Canal in Meldola,

188. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

where his Muses gathered), one would never suspect that he was really the industrious, serious scholar that he was.

Moreover, as when in years gone by his youthful ingenuity found ready poetic expression, so now in his later years the delights of his homeland caught his fancy and he returned to poetry. In moments of leisure he would share his enthusiasm with his Muses by composing sonnets or triplets (being a great imitator of Melosi) with such clarity, vividness, and piquancy that they seemed to be the writings of someone who had nothing else to do.<sup>189</sup>

### *His Spiritual Strength*

This picture of Mastrius' character would be incomplete if it did not take into account the traces of his spiritual life as reflected in his writings and as related by his chief biographer, Franchini.

*His devotion to Saint Anthony.*—The dedication letter of the *Theologia Moralis* reveals something of a naïvete in his devotion to Saint Anthony. It is written in a gay, refreshing style in which Mastrius addresses the saint as though he were a patron, "mecaenatus," who had provided for him as wealthy Renaissance patrons were wont to support artists and scholars. The whole letter reveals an honest expression of a deep, living faith in Saint Anthony's intercession.

A concrete expression of that faith is to be seen in this, that Mastrius would have Masses sung in honor of the Immaculate Conception and Saint Anthony for the protection of the one and only copy of manuscripts he sent to the printers in Venice.<sup>190</sup> That there were dangers is shown by the fact that once a manuscript fell into the hands of thieves. Its recovery (as we have seen) was attributed to Saint Anthony.<sup>191</sup>

*His acquaintance with Saint Joseph Cupertino.*—It was Mastrius' good fortune not only to have experienced at first hand the contagious devotion of Paduans for their favorite saint, but

189. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

190. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

191. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, letter of dedication.

also to have been personally acquainted with a living saint, Father Joseph of Cupertino, a fellow Franciscan of the Conventual Order.

The two friars were practically the same age, Joseph having been born in June, 1603,<sup>192</sup> only six months after Mastrius. Both became followers of Saint Francis; both were ordained priests, probably in 1628.<sup>193</sup> Joseph, however, died in 1663,<sup>194</sup> ten years before Mastrius.

Apart from these coincidentals, the story of the two friars differs in almost every detail. Mastrius came from a family that was probably quite wealthy. He received an excellent education, wrote admirably on profound topics, held high posts of scholarship and government within the Order, and associated with ease and brilliance in circles of the learned and cultured.

Joseph of Cupertino, on the other hand, was from a desperately poor family. He was so clumsy and slow-witted that he had a difficult, discouraging time qualifying for admittance into the Order; and when he was ordained, it was with only a minimum of book learning.<sup>195</sup>

But God chose to pour an over-abundance of grace into the humble soul of Joseph. He was gifted with such extraordinary ecstasy that not once, but frequently, he was lifted high off the ground at the slightest provocation.<sup>196</sup> So much excitement was caused by these manifestations that the Church deemed it best to protect him by hiding him away in various isolated friaries.<sup>197</sup> He was sent from Grotella to Naples to Rome to Assisi to the Capuchin Friars at Pietiassa and Fossombrone, and finally to a

192. Angelo Pastrovicchi, *St. Joseph Cupertino* (transl. Francis Laing, St. Louis: Herder, 1918), p. 1. See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints* for September 18. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints* (ed. by Thurston, London: Burns, Oates, & Washbourne, 1926 sqq.).

193. Joseph was ordained March 28, 1628. Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, p. 10. It is about Mastrius' ordination that I say it was "probably in 1628." See above, p. 108.

194. "The saint died shortly after midnight following September 18, 1663". Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

195. Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, Chapt. I.

196. *Ibid.*, Chapt. IV.

197. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

convent of his own Order in Osimo for the last six years of his life.<sup>198</sup>

It was probably while Joseph was in Osimo (1657-1663)<sup>199</sup> that Mastrius made his acquaintance. This seems likely because Mastrius was Vicar General of Italy in 1661, and his duties might well have taken him to Osimo.

At any rate, while talking with his saintly confrere on one occasion, Mastrius complained how studies seemed to draw him away from God. But Joseph assured him that God had made use of his theological teaching to make Himself better known to the world. And besides, Joseph added, Mastrius could serve God also by contemplating Him in a scholarly way. Then in a humorous vein the saint taught his friend a prayer to say before studying:

Signor, tu sei lo spirito, & io la tromba,  
Ma senza il fiato tuo nulla rimbomba.

Lord, You are the breath, and I am the trumpet;  
Unless You do the blowing, no sound will come from it.

The words of the saint caught the fancy of the scholar. Mastrius had this couplet printed in gold letters and hung on his book shelf and desk.<sup>200</sup>

Any comparison of a saint like Joseph Cupertino with an ordinary person is bound to strike a note of contrast. In comparing him with Mastrius we cannot help recalling some of the latter's shortcomings. There seems to be, for example, a trace of pride in his attitude toward the General Chapter of 1665. And there seems to be evidence of imprudence and uncharitableness in his manner of conducting controversy.

But these limitations should not blind us to the good qualities to be found in his character. I believe that what we know about Mastrius supports the conclusion that he was a man with many of the virtues proper to a serious scholar. He was faithful to

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-112.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

200. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

the regulations of community life, doggedly devoted to his work, cheerful, and humble enough to acknowledge his dependence upon God and His saints.

## V.

### APPRECIATION

Mastrius knew success in his own lifetime. His works were well received by many of his learned contemporaries. After his death his works continued to be successful. In 1678 a printer named Pezzana published the philosophical works under the title: *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer*. Three subsequent editions of this are known to have been published, 1688, 1708 and 1727.

The *Disputationes theologicae* ran five editions between 1675 and 1731; the *Theologia Moralis* did even better. It was reprinted seven times from 1671 to 1731.<sup>201</sup>

Evidently then Mastrius was an accepted authority well into the eighteenth century. But with the general lag of scholasticism and the growing influence of the Enlightenment, the demand for Mastrius declined.

Just what influence he has exerted during the two hundred years since then would be hard to determine. An occasional author refers to him,<sup>202</sup> and a few Franciscan professors bring him into the classroom. Some authorities in Franciscana would like to see a new edition of his works published. Whether this would be of genuine value to philosophy and theology is a question for philosophers and theologians to answer.

I believe that it is within the realm of an historian, however, to point out that the popularity of Mastrius' works for nearly one hundred years, roughly 1640-1730, shows that they are deserving of serious consideration. Moreover, Mastrius' copious references to contemporary and previous philosophy and theology

201. For details of publication see the Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

202. Christianus Pesch, *Praelectiones Dogmaticae* (ed. 3<sup>a</sup>; Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1911), IX, 416.

make his works valuable as a key to seventeenth century thought and as a bridge to the scholastic tradition before its waning in the eighteenth century.<sup>203</sup>

Perhaps Mastrius was not a major figure in the history of philosophy, even within scholasticism. Nevertheless his career is significant in Franciscana. He was a product of Franciscan education; from his youth he absorbed the teachings of the Seraphic and Subtle Doctors. With conviction, as well as with a spirit of loyalty, he devoted his life's work to keeping that tradition alive. Mastrius stands as a noteworthy example of the devotion to learning that has accompanied the development and apostolate of the Seraphic Order from its early years.



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203. Dominic de Caylus writes: "The work of Fathers Mastrius and Belluti . . . embraces at once the whole philosophical-theological thought of the Subtle Doctor, and I do not know if the Scotistic school possesses a second treasure of such value. One can perhaps compare the course of these two illustrious Scotists to the Salmanticenses. Mastrius and Belluti are among the first rank of the grand defenders of the doctrine of the Subtle Doctor, and few of the theologians of the seventeenth century are comparable to them. A new edition of their works is greatly to be desired." *Op. cit.*, XXV (Juin, 1911), 633, footnote #3.



## APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS BY MASTRIUS<sup>1</sup>

Because of the systematic way in which Mastrius wrote, first on each philosophical tract and then on each successive theological one, a bibliography of his works is readily presented in an arrangement that is to a great extent both topical and chronological, as the following outline will show. (Only the compilations, the polemic against Ferchio, and the poetry have been shifted from their proper chronological sequence).

## I. Philosophical works

- A. Those written by Mastrius and Belluti together
- B. Those written by Mastrius alone
- C. The compilation of these into one *cursus philosophiae*
- D. A polemic work against Ferchio

1. In order to make this bibliography of works by Mastrius more serviceable, a separate list of references is herewith provided.

(1) Giovanni Franchini, *Bibliosofia e memorie letterarie di scrittori Francescani Conventuali ch'Hanno scritto dopo l'anno 1585* (Modena: Soliani, 1693).

(2) Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (ed. Nardecchia; Romae: 1906).

(3) Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca universa Franciscana* (Madrid: Typ. Causae V. Matris de Agreda, 1732).

(4) Hyacinth Sbaraleae, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci* (ed. doct. Attilio Nardecchia; Romae: 1908).

(5) Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae catholicae* (ed. altera; Oeniponte: 1893).

(6) Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement de l'école scotiste," *Études Franciscaines*, XXV (Juin, 1911), 632 f.

(7) Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Scotisten des 17 Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 48-51.

(8) Édouard d'Alençon, "Belluti," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. II, col. 601.

(9) Édouard d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. V, col. 2170 ff.

(10) E. Longpré, "Mastrius de Meldola," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. X, cols. 281 f.

(11) The works themselves of Mastrius, both the copies examined by the present writer and those described for him by the librarians of several libraries, mostly Franciscan, in the United States and Canada.

## II. Theological works

## A. Dogmatic

1. as separate publications
2. as compiled into one *cursus theologiae*

## B. Moral

## III. Poetry

## I. Philosophical works

## A. Those written by Mastrius and Belluti together

1. *Logica parva*<sup>2</sup>

Also known as "*Summulistae*"<sup>3</sup>

Editions: 1st. ca. 1630, in octavo.<sup>4</sup>

Places and dates of subsequent editions not given.<sup>5</sup>

This work was later incorporated into a larger work on logic described in number 3 below.

2. *Disputationes in Aristotelis libros physicorum*.<sup>6</sup>

Also known as: *In octo Libros Physicorum*;<sup>7</sup> and *Disputationes in octo libros physicorum*.<sup>8</sup>

Editions: 1st. Romae: typ. Grignani, 1637, in quarto, dedicated: "Leopoldo Austriaco Archiduci."<sup>9</sup> 1,000 copies made.<sup>10</sup>

2nd. revised<sup>11</sup> and enlarged by author. Venetiis:

2. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, pp. 88, 92; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227.

3. See no. 3 *infra* for passage from the prologue of the larger work.

4. Written while the authors were Regents at Cesena.

5. "*Logica parva* di molte ristampe." Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 92.

6. Jansen, "Scotisten des 17 Jahrh." F. S., XXIII, 48 f.

7. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38; Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

8. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F. XXV, 632.

9. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

11. Corrections and additions were made, and more complete indices were added. The order of presentation was altered somewhat in view of the work of the Complutenses which Mastrius and Belluti had not seen for the first edition. Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, II, "Ad Lectorem Typographus."

typ. Ginammi, 1644.

3rd to 5th. Venetiis, typ. Ginammi.<sup>12</sup>

3. *Disputationes in organum aristotelis, quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum tum recentiore[m] jaculis Scoti logica vindicatur.*<sup>13</sup>

Also known as: *Commentarii in Logicam*;<sup>14</sup> and in its second edition as: *In Organum Aristotelis disputationes Logicales.*<sup>15</sup>

Concerning the part occupied by the *Logica parva* in this larger work, we have the following explanation by the authors:

Laudabilis admodum est . . . consuetudo ad Logicam questionibus contextam praemittere Dialecticas Institutiones, quae breviter complectuntur omnia, quae fuse tradunt Summlistae, & Arist. in suo Organo, unde inserviunt veluti summa textus totius Logicae, & introductio ad ipsam questionibus contextem.<sup>16</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: 1639,<sup>17</sup> typ. Gynammi, in quarto.<sup>18</sup>

2nd. revised and enlarged by author. Venetiis, 1646,<sup>19</sup> typ. Ginammi or Novelli de Bonis.<sup>20</sup> This 2nd ed. dedicated: "ad Io: Baptistam Pallottum Cardinalem."<sup>21</sup>

12. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

13. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

14. Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

15. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 92.

16. Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, I, Prologue to this particular work.

17. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

18. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

19. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 92.

20. Franchini, Joannes a S. Antonio, and Caylus credit it to Ginamus; Sbaraleae, to Novelli de Bonis.

21. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 92. (He does not list the 1st ed.).

3rd. Neapoli: typ. Novelli de Bonis, 1660.<sup>22</sup>

4. *Disputationes in libros de coelo et mundo et metheoris.*<sup>23</sup> Also known as: *In Libros de Caelo, Mundo, Metheoris;*<sup>24</sup> *Disputationes in libros de caelo et metheoris;*<sup>25</sup> *In libros de coelo et meteoris;*<sup>26</sup> and *In libros de generat., et corrupt., de caelo, et metheoris.*<sup>27</sup>

This last-mentioned title indicates that the *Disputationes de coelo, etc.* is to be considered a companion volume to the subsequent *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*. D'Alençon lists them as if they were two volumes of one work published in several editions together.<sup>28</sup> Jansen includes *Disputationes de anima* in the same group.<sup>29</sup> Franchini, however, lists the three separately in the order presented here.<sup>30</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: apud Ginamum, 1640, in quarto, dedicated: "ad Patrum Generalem Berardicellum."<sup>31</sup>

Subsequent editions. Venetiis, 1652 and 1659.<sup>32</sup>

5. *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione.*<sup>33</sup> Also known as: *In Libros de Generatione, & Corruptione;*<sup>34</sup> and *Disputationes de Generatione et Corruptione.*<sup>35</sup>

22. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

23. *Ibid.* (both Jo. a S. Ant. and Caylus).

24. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93.

25. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

26. Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

27. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

28. "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

29. "Scotisten des 17 Jahrh." F. S. XXIII, 49.

30. *Bibliosophia*, p. 93.

31. *Ibid.*

32. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

35. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: Apud Ginamum, 1640, in quarto, dedicated: "Ad Marcellum Lantes Card."<sup>36</sup>

Subsequent editions. Venetiis: 1652, 1659.<sup>37</sup>

6. *Disputationes in Arist. Stag. libros de anima. Quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti philosophia vindicatur.*<sup>38</sup>

Also known as: *In Libros de Anima*;<sup>39</sup> *Disputationes in libros de anima*;<sup>40</sup> and *Commentarii in libros de anima*.<sup>41</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, in 1640/41 or 1643.<sup>42</sup>

Subsequent editions. The 1643 ed., Venetiis, Apud Ginamum, in quarto, dedicated: "Ad Cardinal Franciottum."<sup>43</sup> Venetiis, 1652, 1671.<sup>44</sup>

## B. Written by Mastrius alone

1. *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. Libros Metaphysicorum Quibus ab Adversantibus tum Veterum, tum Recentiorum iaculis Scoti Metaph. vindicatur.*<sup>45</sup>

Also known as: *In 12 libros Metaphysicorum*.<sup>46</sup>

36. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227.

37. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

38. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

39. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

40. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 632; d'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

41. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

42. Jansen (who combines it with *de coelo, etc.*, and *de generatione*, q.v. *supra*) and d'Alençon ("Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601) say this work was published in 1640. Franchini, Joannes a S. Antonio, and Sbaraleae say, 1643. Two arguments in favor of the earlier date: first, this work was the last one that Mastrius and Belluti wrote together, and Belluti returned to Sicily in 1640 or 1641. (Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 112); secondly, Ponce is said to have been able to consult this work before publishing his own in 1641/42. (Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae cursus integer*, II, "Ad lectorem typographus.")

43. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

44. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

45. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y., Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., and Bibliotheque Antonienne, Quebec.

46. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

Editions: Venetiis: apud Ginamum, tomus prior, 1646; dedicated: "Eminentissimi Card. Capponii"; tomus posterior, 1647, dedicated: "Innocentio X, Pont. Opt. Max."<sup>47</sup>

2. *Appendix Generalis* and *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, two brief supplementary treatises against Ponce, printed in the *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, 1708 ed., Vol. III, pp. 457-463; 463-492 immediately after the *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*. Very likely they appeared earlier, probably in the 1652 or 1659 edition of these *Disputationes*.

- C. The compilation of these various *Disputationes* into one *cursus philosophiae*, entitled:

*Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti Cursus Integer*.<sup>48</sup>

Also known as: *Cursus integer philosophiae ad mentem Scoti*.<sup>49</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, Nicholas Pezzana, 1678, 5 vols. in folio.<sup>50</sup>

2nd. *Ibid.*, 1688.<sup>51</sup>

3rd. *Ibid.*, 1708.<sup>52</sup> This edition, a copy of which is in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., bears on its title page the following continuation: "*Editio Novissima a mendis expurgata.*" A similar wording appears on the 1st edition of the compiled theological works, *q. v.*; perhaps it was likewise on the 1st edition of the *cursus philosophiae*. Copies of this 3rd edition

47. From the copy in Holy Name College, Washington, D. C.

48. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

49. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

50. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 94.

51. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 632; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281; d'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

52. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

were located also in the library of Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio; and in the Convent of St. Joseph, Dorchester Street, Montreal.

4th. *Ibid.*, 1727.<sup>53</sup>

D. A polemic work against Ferchio, entitled:

*Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus, & Matrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis.*<sup>54</sup>

Also known as: *Scotus et scotistate, Bellutus et Matrius expurgati a probrosis querelis Ferchianis.*<sup>55</sup>

Editions: Ferrariae: apud Franciscum Succium, 1650 in quarto.<sup>56</sup>

## II. Theological Works.

Like the philosophical works, the theological ones were first published separately and then some time later were republished as a unit. Unlike the *Philosophiae cursus integer*, each volume of the theological course probably retained its original title. Probably the title common to all four works was: *Disputationes theologicae in . . . (primum, secundum, etc.) . . . librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur.* This conclusion seems warranted by the first-hand information available about the 1st editions of volumes two and four, *q. v. infra.*

53. *Ibid.*; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 632.

54. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Longpré, "Matrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

This work was published with the assistance of Paul Pinzarino, a physician friend of Matrius. D'Alençon, "Ferchio," D.T.C., V, 2171.

It was published with many typographical, grammatical, and spelling errors, due to the printer's ignorance of Latin. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93.

55. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; d'Alençon, "Ferchio," D.T.C., V, 2171.

56. Franchini, *Bibliosophia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

## A. The separate publications

1. *In primum Librum Sententiarum.*<sup>57</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, Hertz, 1655, in folio,<sup>58</sup> dedicated "ad Franciscum Albitium a Cesena Cardinalem."<sup>59</sup>

2. *Disputationes theologicae in secundum librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur.*<sup>60</sup>

Also known as: *In secundum Librum Sententiarum Scoti*,<sup>61</sup> *In 2. librum Sent. Scoti.*<sup>62</sup>

Editions: Venetiis, per Stortum, 1659, in folio,<sup>63</sup> dedicated to Pope Alexander VII.<sup>64</sup>

3. *In tertium Librum Sententiarum Scoti.*<sup>65</sup>

Editions: Venetiis, per Valuasensem, 1661,<sup>66</sup> in folio, dedicated: "ad Lucam Turrisianum Archiepiscopum."<sup>67</sup>

4. *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus, tum veterum tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur.*<sup>68</sup>


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57. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

58. *Ibid.*, Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

59. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

60. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

61. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

62. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

63. *Ibid.*, Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

64. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

65. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

68. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y., and in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.



Also known as: *In quartum Librum Sententiarum Scoti*.<sup>69</sup>

Editions: Venetiis, per Valuasensem, 1661 or 1664, in folio,<sup>70</sup> dedicated: "ad Gilbertum Borromeum Cardinalem Protectorem Ordinis."<sup>71</sup>

The copy of this edition in the Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., has a portrait of Mastrius as its frontispiece. The inscription beneath the picture reads:

F. Philippus Monti Faentinus ejusdem ordinis effigiem hanc animo suo iamdiu depositam, pagine ob ipso delineatam ere incidi curavit in MDCLXV.

- B. The *Disputationes theologicae* were published as a unit of four volumes under the title:

*Disputationes theologicae in libros sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur*.<sup>72</sup>

Also called: *in quatuor libros Sent. Scoti*.<sup>73</sup>

69. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

70. Franchini (*Bibliosofia*, p. 93), and Longpré ("Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281), probably depending on Franchini, date this edition as 1661. But in doing so, Franchini contradicts himself. For he says (*op. cit.*, p. 92) that Mastrius took three years each for *Disputationes in secundum, tertium, et quartum librum*. Since the third volume was published in 1661, the more probable date for the fourth is 1664. Moreover, Mastrius himself, in introducing this later work says that it was delayed until 1664 because of his appointment as Vicar General. Cf. *Disputationes in 4 librum*, "Lectori benevolo."

71. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

72. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

73. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123. Sbaraleae's data concerning the four volume unit, i. e., the *Disputationes in quatuor libros Sent.*, follows immediately after his data about the fourth volume of the original publication, i. e., the *Disputationes in quartum librum Sent.* The two entries are accordingly easy to confuse, but they can be seen to agree with other sources.

The entries read: "In 4. librum Sent. Scoti iisdem typis Valvasensibus an. 1664. in fol.; postea iterum ibidem an. 1675. 1684, et an. 1698. per Jacobum Hertz; nec non an. 1719. in quatuor libros Sent. Scoti in fol. tomis 4."

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: typ. Balleonium, 1675, 4 vols. in folio.<sup>74</sup> This publication even in its first edition is known as: "*Editio novissima, a mendis expurgata et indicibus necessariis locupletata.*"<sup>75</sup>

2nd. Venetiis: apud Io: Jacobum Hertz, 1684, in folio.<sup>76</sup>

3rd. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1698.<sup>77</sup>

4th. Venetiis: apud Michaelum Hertz, 1719, in folio.<sup>78</sup>

5th. Venetiis: ex Typ. Balleoniana, 1731, in folio.<sup>79</sup>

## B. Moral theology

*Theologia Moralis ad mentem DD. Seraphici et Subtilis concinnata, in disputationes vigintiocto distributa.*<sup>80</sup>

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It can mean: *In 4 librum Sent. Scoti* was published by the same printer as the 3rd [Valvasensibus] in 1664, in folio. Afterwards it (either the *In 4 librum* or the *In quatuor libros*—the former would be included in the latter anyway) was published in the same place (Venice, but not necessarily by the same printer; hence it could be either Hertz or Balleonium), in 1675. In 1684 and 1698, as well as in 1719, the *In quatuor Sent.* was published by James Hertz, 4 vols. in folio.

Joannes a S. Anton. *Bibliotheca*, I, 188: "*In quatuor libros Sentiarum* (sic) *ad mentem Scoti*, Tom. 4, in fol. Venet. typis Joannis Jacobi Hertz 1675 . . . ."

74. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633, says that this was published by Jean-Jacques Hertz.

75. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

76. From the copies in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio; Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

77. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

78. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

79. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

80. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; Biblio-

Also called: *Theologia moralis ad mentem S. Bonaventura, et Scoti*.<sup>81</sup>

Editions: 1st. Venetiis. apud Joannen Jacobum Hertz, 1671, in folio.<sup>82</sup>

2nd. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1683, in folio.<sup>83</sup>

3rd. Venetiis; apud Hertz, 1688.<sup>84</sup>

4th. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1700, in folio.<sup>85</sup>

5th. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1709.<sup>86</sup>

6th. Venetiis: 1623,<sup>87</sup> apud Antonium Mora.<sup>88</sup>

7th. Venetiis: 1731, in folio,<sup>89</sup> apud Hieronymum Savioni.<sup>90</sup>

### III. Poetry

A. A poem in praise of St. Bonaventure, Bologna, ca. 1620.<sup>91</sup>

theque Antonienne, Quebec; Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188. (He omits "in disputationes . . ."); Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

81. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 282.

82. From the copies in Bibliotheque Antonienne, Quebec; Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; and St. Hyacinth Seminary, Granby, Mass.

Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 282.

83. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 94; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

84. From the copies in Holy Name College and the Franciscan Monastery, Washington, D. C.

85. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

86. From copies in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Holy Name College, Washington, D. C.; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

87. Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

88. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; and Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

89. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

90. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

91. "Vn Poema eroico in lode di S. Bonaventura, che giouinetto stampo in Bologna." Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

B. Mastrius wrote some more poetry in his later years, but none of it seems to have been published.<sup>92</sup>

BONAVENTURE CROWLEY, O.F.M. CONV.

*St. Bonaventure's Convent,  
Washington, D. C.*



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92. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 98.

THE BASIC SIGNIFICANCE OF KNOWLEDGE FOR  
CHRISTIAN PERFECTION ACCORDING  
TO DUNS SCOTUS

THE QUESTION concerning the relation between knowledge and action belongs to the most interesting and stimulating chapters of human inquiry. Mankind always comes back to this subject, especially at times when new roads are opened in the history of human thought. The answer to this question, together with many other factors, deeply determines the countenance of the period.

In Christianity this problem becomes the vital question of knowledge in general. The denial of any relation existing between knowledge and life, and in consequence, the rejection of pure knowledge for its own sake, will inevitably lower the value of knowledge before the tribunal of God. There is, of course, no room for such a radical denial within the realm of revealed faith. For it would stamp revelation with the character of senselessness. On the other hand, on the basis of revelation, which emphasizes the sinfulness of man, the Socratic equation of knowledge and action must likewise be rejected. But between both extremes there is still a very wide field. In the past, Christian thinkers were called upon to find the right means.

The Franciscan spirit, from its beginning, was more disposed toward a closer approximation of knowledge and action. In the Order of Friars Minor, knowledge first had to show itself useful for salvation before occupation with it seemed to be justified. In addition, the limits of knowledge were set by the words of St. Francis: *One knows as much as one does.*<sup>1</sup> Truly, a profound and wise expression. Hence, no room was left for pure knowledge for its own sake. It was natural, then, that the Franciscan friends of knowledge were in a special way interested in the inquiry concerning the relation between knowledge and

1. *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. 4, (Ed. Sabatier, 1898), p. 13, 3.

action. Thus, it is obvious that the great Franciscan Doctors accorded to this problem a relatively lengthy treatment.<sup>2</sup>

In this matter the most profound inquiries were made by the Subtle Doctor, Duns Scotus. In the Order knowledge had developed to the highest degree of maturity. The fight for the right of knowledge was theoretically concluded through the efforts of St. Bonaventure. There was no longer any need to create a living place for knowledge through the explanation of the Rule. Juridical and moral questions in this regard had been settled long ago. For this reason, Duns Scotus could turn his acumen more to the genuine metaphysical and theological realities. His penetrating metaphysical-theological genius naturally pushed him, as it were, into this direction. In addition, he had at his disposal the opinions of the great thinkers, from the ancient Greeks up to St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas.<sup>3</sup>

The position of the problem had reached its maturity. Many a road had been explored without a satisfactory result. Scotus takes all of this into consideration, makes sharp distinctions and arrives at new conclusions<sup>4</sup> and for this reason alone, it is worthwhile to study the position of Duns Scotus. Moreover, it seems that up to the present time no one has gone beyond his conclusions; and yet, it is unfortunately true, that the position of Duns Scotus seems to be almost entirely forgotten.<sup>5</sup>

The presuppositions by which Scotus is guided in his inquiry are clearly different from those of Aristotelianism and Thomism.

2. The rather extensive *Quaestio* 4 of the Prologue to the *Oxoniense* is the most explicit proof for that. St. Bonaventure also devoted much time, labor and space to this problem. Cfr., for example, his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, which deals mostly with this problem. Before his time, Alexander of Hales and St. Anthony of Padua had done likewise.

3. *Oxon.*, Prolog. q. 4, n. 16-31. Scotus discussed the various opinions concerning this problem of theology. St. Bonaventure's solution, according to whom theology is a *scientia affectiva*, is not rejected by Scotus; however, the latter thinks that this expression can be easily misunderstood and is subject to a false interpretation. Cfr. *loc. cit.*, n. 26.

4. We have not found any discussion at Oxford by the predecessors of Scotus concerning this problem. If, in fact, such is the truth, we must attribute an extraordinary originality to Scotus.

5. Even Scotists are not always aware of Scotus' achievement.

The most important difference is to be found in Scotus' characteristic concept of the will, which is liberty and love. For Duns Scotus, the scale of values has its peak not in an act of the understanding but in an act of the will.<sup>6</sup> The primacy of the will, according to Duns Scotus, not only means that the will is first, or, that the will is first in every respect; rather it means that above all and in a special manner, the intellect is ordered towards the will.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the will has a real dominion over the soul and over creation subordinated to the soul.<sup>8</sup> From this it follows immediately that the condition (or position) proper to the intellect and to knowledge is that of a service and of a means or instrument of the will, and that, within the realm of creation. Knowledge, according to Scotus, is essentially ordered towards the will; the will, however, within creation, is essentially free, i. e., the reasons and sources for its acts lie in the will itself.<sup>9</sup>

If then the intellect, its act and habit, is ordered towards the will, there must be a relation between knowledge and sanctity, or Christian perfection.<sup>10</sup> When we read books, in which Christian perfection is explained for the average soul, it would appear to us that there is an irreconcilable opposition between knowledge and sanctity. But the title "Doctor Ecclesiae" which the Church has bestowed upon Saints, who have done great service for the Mystical Body, should prove through their outstanding knowledge,—if in all earnestness it really should need a proof—, that knowledge and Christian perfection are not in opposition. On

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6. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49, q. ex Lat., post 4; *Report. Par.*, IV, d. 49, q. 2. It is impossible at times to quote Scotus in full. In addition, concerning the solution of our problem, it is often necessary to note and study the entire question and particularly the delicate shades of meaning he offers in his answers to objections. It is rather a common feature of Scotistic Philosophy and Theology that his position is often hidden in the background of a lengthy discussion or even in his entire work. Therefore, the necessity of examining the entire text in order to fully comprehend his doctrine.

7. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 49, q. 2. This opinion is found expressed everywhere in a. 4 of the prologue.

8. *Report. Par.*, IV, d. 49, q. 2, n. 6.

9. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un.

10. By knowledge we understand cognitive acts or states *in genere* and not only scientific knowledge.

the other hand, one cannot equate knowledge and sanctity. Christian perfection as grace, that is, insofar as it is the exclusive work of God, is essentially independent of knowledge in the respective individual.<sup>11</sup> As regards grace, it matters not whether man knows about it or not. Great and outstanding graces have been granted by God in a manifest manner, but they were also hidden to the intellect, and perhaps oftener in a hidden than in a manifest manner as long as the time of probation lasted. There are many extraordinary Saints who have joined sanctity to great learning. Large, perhaps even larger, is the number of those Saints who besides sanctity did not possess any learning in the proper sense.

The problem is different, however, if we consider Christian perfection insofar as human co-operation with grace is concerned. If this co-operation is "human",<sup>12</sup> that is, corresponding with human nature, and also, by God's ordination, meritorious with regard to the supernatural goal, then it cannot abstract from every knowledge.<sup>13</sup>

Knowledge and sanctity, therefore, are not only different concepts, but are also different things. Nevertheless, they are things ordered toward each other, as intellect and will are ordered

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11. This is the teaching of the Council of Trent. In the enumeration of the causes of grace, the Council does not mention knowledge at all, though the enumeration is complete. (Cfr. Denzinger, *Enchr. Sym.*, n. 799. Hereafter, this work will be cited as DB). This fact is clearly emphasized and consequently carried through the entire doctrine of grace as taught by the Subtle Doctor. To the point, he states: "Gratia non potest inesse, nisi a solo Deo create." (*Oxon.*, II, d. 17, q. un., n. 15). Although this is only an occasional remark, it is, nevertheless, typical of his entire doctrine on grace. The best paradigm of it is the "Analysis Fidei" which, by the way, is closely related to the problem at hand. (Cfr. *Oxon.*, III, d. 23-25).

12. In the sense of the *actus humanus* of moral theology.

13. This relation between human activity and the divine reward is not, according to Scotus, a mathematical relation. It exists, not according to the rules of mere justice, but according to the measure of God's liberality and is based on the divine fidelity in the fulfillment of His promises. Everywhere, it presupposes free acceptance. But the Scotistic doctrine of acceptance does not change the condition that the act of the will, the proper cause of acquired perfection, should be in conformity with a preceding act of the intellect. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 35, 17 ss.



to each other in man. This mutual order, disposed by God himself, reaches into the innermost structure and up to the ultimate effects of human action.<sup>14</sup> Since it is clearly revealed by God Himself, it is not necessary to ascertain the fact of this mutual ordination of perfection and knowledge by laborious reasonings. To human perfection, taken in its full meaning and as it is demanded by God for the state of pilgrimage and in accordance with the supernatural goal, a minimum of knowledge belongs, moreover, to a minimum of sanctity. The minimum of sanctity is the possession of sanctifying grace—a rather high minimum.<sup>15</sup> God is satisfied with it in the case of an innocent child. From others, however, he demands co-operation, and in this co-operation there is included a minimum of knowledge, which is stated by Sacred Scripture in the following words: "Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quia est, et inquirentibus se remunerator sit."<sup>16</sup> Without this minimum of rational faith, and therefore, of knowledge, "it never happens, that anyone attains justification . . . and eternal life."<sup>17</sup> For those who have the use of reason, there is no perfection without this minimum of knowledge.

From this it follows that there is, factually at least, a necessary relation between perfection and knowledge, and not simply a loose connection left to the arbitrariness of the individual. Duns Scotus establishes two criteria in order to measure this relation. First, the relation of the intellect to the will, that is of the *ordo potentialium*;<sup>18</sup> and secondly, the quality of the object known, that is of the *practicabilitas obiecti*.<sup>19</sup> We shall limit our investigation to the *ordo potentialium* in the creature. We shall especially inquire, whether it is an *ordo causarum* and ascertain Scotus' position to it. We posit, therefore, the following problem: Is

14. Cfr. *Oxon.*, *loc. cit.*, n. ss.

15. Cfr. *DB* n. 800 & 842.

16. *Hebr.* xi, 6. The measure of this minimum is debated. Theologians distinguish between the minimum which is required as a *necessitas medii*, and another which is required as a *necessitas praecepti*. In the present discussion it is important that we note that only a minimum of knowledge is required.

17. As defined by the Vatican Council. Cfr. *DB*, n. 1793.

18. Cfr. *Oxon.*, *Prolog.* q. 5, n. 38.

19. *Loc. cit.*, *passim*.

there any knowledge which is in a causal relation to Christian perfection? This problem we shall study in itself and according to Scotus, while the other criterion, established by Duns Scotus, the *practicabilitas objecti*, will be reserved for later investigation.

Christian perfection, or perfection in an unqualified sense, as it was established by God, as the ultimate and necessary goal of rational nature, is God Himself *insofar* as He takes possession of the creature by sanctifying grace. The *formal cause*, the inner structure and the essential element of perfection is sanctifying grace,<sup>20</sup> to which is added the supernatural or theological faith, or in heaven, the *Lumen gloriae*.<sup>21</sup> Neither faith nor the *Lumen gloriae* constitute perfection.<sup>22</sup> The essence of perfection, in any case, is in a much closer relation to infused love, and this relation is so close that Scotus even upholds its formal identity.<sup>23</sup> If even supernatural faith and the *Lumen gloriae* do not constitute perfection, then, there is less possibility that knowledge can be its formal cause. In the formal being of perfection, knowledge has no place, be it scholarly or not; neither extensive nor little knowledge, natural or supernatural, theological or secular knowledge. Knowledge does not belong to perfection as *an essential element* and hence it is not an essential part of perfection.

In Christian perfection, however, there is also an element which consists in the co-operation of the creature, viz., the acquired perfection or acquired virtue. According to Duns Scotus virtues are distinguished mainly according to their objects and potencies.<sup>24</sup> However, this must not be understood in the sense that their formal being was constituted by them. Their formal

20. Cfr. *DB*, n. 799.

21. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un. In the rejection of their formal identity, Scotus goes further than St. Thomas. Cfr. *Summa Theol.*, I-II, 110, 3; 110, 4, 2; III, 62, 2.

22. *Oxon.*, IV, 49, q. 4. Differently, St. Thomas. Cfr. *Summa*, I, 1, 4; 12, 1-4 and 6-8, and other places.

23. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un., nn. 3-4. Scotus here defines *gratia gratum faciens* and, consequently, Christian perfection, in concise terms: "Illud propter quod Deus acceptat habens ut dignum beatitudine, et dignitate, quae est in correspondentia meriti ad praemium." According to Scotus, this is formally charity and not Faith or the *Lumen Gloriae*.

24. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 10-12 & 44-45.

determination comes about *per aliquid intrinsecum*.<sup>25</sup> The virtues, which make man "holy", are virtues of the will, not virtues of the intellect.<sup>26</sup> Hence, knowledge does not belong to the formal being of acquired holiness, but stands outside of it.<sup>27</sup>

About the efficient cause of perfection we have fortunately at our disposal a definition of the Council of Trent: "The efficient cause of perfection is the merciful God, who gratuitously purifies and sanctifies,<sup>28</sup> seals and anoints with the Holy Spirit of the promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance."<sup>29</sup> Created grace,—that which God effects in order to sanctify the creature—is given to us not by knowledge, but by an omnipotent and free act of God.

Concerning this problem, Scotus has gone a decisive step further than St. Thomas. Peter Lombard identified sanctifying grace with the Holy Ghost.<sup>30</sup> During the time of Scotus this error had been already clarified and corrected, so that the Subtle Doctor could simply presuppose that everyone admitted it without entering into a discussion of the problem.<sup>31</sup> Again, according to Scotus, sanctifying grace is simply created: *Gratia non potest inesse, nisi a solo Deo creante*.<sup>32</sup> Since no creature can take part, as the efficient cause, in the act of creation—on this point there is agreement among the Scholastics—creatures cannot participate at all in the production of grace. Scotus also denies this causal efficiency in the doctrine of the Sacraments.<sup>33</sup> It is obvious, then, that knowledge cannot have such a causality. In addition, Scotus expressly denies this causality from the knowledge of Faith.<sup>34</sup> The conclusion in this denial holds for acquired knowledge and is, *a fortiori*, certainly warranted.

25. *Loc. cit.*

26. *Oxon.*, III, d. 33, q. un. Vd. especially nn. 12 ss.

27. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 6-7; II, d. 25, q. un.

28. *I Cor.* vi, 11.

29. *Epb.* i, 13 ss. Cfr. DB, n. 799.

30. *Sent.* I, d. 17.

31. Cfr. Lychetus, *Comment. to Oxon.*, I, d. 17, q. 6.

32. Cfr. footnote n. 11.

33. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 1, q. 5.

34. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un. n. 2.

Knowledge stands in a closer relation with perfection, when the latter is understood in the sense of the creature's co-operation with grace. In this case, however, knowledge is related to the "becoming", to the growth and being of perfection in no other way than to every rational work of the rational creature: Knowledge is not the efficient cause of the work. It is, however, in relation to the secondary cause (*causa secunda*), viz., the will, prior to that faculty and hence, the act of the will necessarily follows *after* knowledge. And this is necessary in order that the will be in conformity to the intellect in order that its act be ethically good, "rectus".<sup>35</sup> This, however, does not entail an efficient causality as regards the act of the will, and in consequence, as Duns Scotus expressly teaches, in regard to sanctity.<sup>36</sup>

Hence, in no sense can it be said that knowledge is the efficient cause of Christian perfection. Yet, the case would be different if we were to study the relation of God's knowledge to the efficient cause of Christian perfection.<sup>37</sup>

Among the causes, the final cause is the most important. It is this cause that determines the things up to their ultimate depths; it guides the efficient cause, determines the formal cause and all other conditions. The end of Christian perfection, however, is not knowledge, but the glory of God, of Christ and the salvation of the soul.<sup>38</sup> According to Scotus the glory of God consists in charity, and therefore the end of Christian perfection is not the *Visio*, but the *Fruitio*.<sup>39</sup> Christianity is not immediately directed towards an act or habit of the intellect, but to an act or habit of the will. Knowledge, even theological knowledge, is only a means to reach the end; not the end itself. Knowledge is means both for grace, or the "ontological sanctity," and for human co-operation, or the "psychological sanctity". However, as we have seen before, it is not the means in the sense of efficient causality.

35. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 3-4.

36. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un.

37. The controversy between the Thomists and Scotists concerning this problem is immaterial here.

38. Cfr. *DB*, n. 799.

39. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49, q. 4.

Likewise, knowledge is not the exemplar cause (*causa exemplaris*) for the becoming, the growth and being of perfection. The object represented by cognition, is to a certain extent exemplar cause; cognition, however, as cognition (*formaliter*) is not. But the function of the object does not belong to the considerations concerning the *ordo potentiarum*. An exemplary cause is, according to Scotus, a sub-species of the efficient cause, viz., the efficiency which belongs to the intellect. This efficiency, however, is limited to cognition, and does not reach to the will.<sup>40</sup> Knowledge as knowledge, therefore, cannot be the exemplary cause of perfection, since it cannot be efficient cause.

Perfection and knowledge are, from the viewpoint of the material cause, in a similar relation. Perfection as grace, is created.<sup>41</sup> Hence, it has no material cause. Perfection in the sense of human co-operation is a virtue of the will. But a virtue of the will does not consist of habits of the intellect but of habits of the will, or rather it consists in the disposition of the will as the result of repeated acts of the will.<sup>42</sup> Knowledge, however, is an act or habit of the intellect. The intellect has the task to present to the will the "materia circa quam" of the act of will.<sup>43</sup> The intellect or knowledge furnishes the will with the material with which the act of will is concerned, but it is not formally material.

Hence, there only remains, as the last cause, that of the instrumental cause, and, therefore, we may ask: Is knowledge in the relation of an *instrument* to the becoming, growth and being of Christian perfection?

It has been said that knowledge viewed from the material and exemplary cause is a means to sanctity. Knowledge, as the

40. Scotus expresses this in the following words: "Causa exemplaris non (est) . . . nisi quoddam efficiens: efficiens enim dividitur in efficiens per intellectum, sive propositum, et efficiens per naturam. . . . Sicut igitur naturaliter producens non est alia causa ab efficiente, ita nec exemplaris, nec exemplariter producens: et ita idem est effectus, et exemplariter productum alicuius intelligentis in quantum est intelligens, et in quantum exemplans." *Oxon.*, II, d. 35, q. un., n. 5.

41. Cfr. footnote n. 11.

42. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 16-18; III, d. 33, q. un., n. 5.

43. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 3-5.

means, presents to the will an idea of the perfection to be obtained, and partly, at least, the material which the will has to use in its struggle for perfection. This is true, both for God and the creature as to their respective activity. One might conclude from this that knowledge is only an instrumental cause as regards the becoming and the growth of Christian perfection, but does not play any role in its being. This, however, does not follow. For Christian perfection does not consist in a static state of something achieved once and for all and which now remains in an uniformly enduring state, but it is in a living flux, a continuous becoming throughout all eternity. The creature remains forever contingent. The reason for this eternal flux is that unconquerable contingency of the creature, whilst for God, His eternal vitality is pure actuality. Though it is true that there will not be any progress after the present life has come to an end, nevertheless, sanctity remains living, and knowledge will forever play the role of the instrument which it has already played upon earth; then of course, only in the higher state of the *Lumen Gloriae*. Also here upon earth the becoming, the growth, and the being of perfection is not so much the result of knowledge, as it is the work of the creating God and of the created will co-operating with grace.

Only an indirect mediation of perfection can be attributed to knowledge. The will reaches the object only through the intellect; but it embraces it immediately in love.<sup>44</sup> For this reason, knowledge, *qua knowledge*, is not meritorious for eternal life.

This intermediary role is that which we usually describe as the *causa instrumentalis*.<sup>45</sup> This may sound strange; it is true, however, that both Saint Thomas and Duns Scotus<sup>46</sup> accept its causality in the explained sense. The expression is, of course,

44. This is the teaching of Scotus in *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, *passim*. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un., *ex professo*. The efficient cause is not the intellect nor the object of cognition. The intellect is merely the means whereby the object normally reaches the will. It is, therefore, the natural means. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol., q. 4, nn. 3-4.

45. Cfr. *Summa Theol.*, I, 45, 5.

46. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 1, q. 1, n. 26.

metaphorical and is taken over from the realm of the mechanical arts or handicrafts. From the connotations of this comparison arose the problem whether the instrument, as regards the effect under consideration, has any causality and, in consequence, any activity in the proper sense or not. From this apparently insignificant question arose the difficult problem of *de concursu*; for, all secondary causes are in the relation of an instrument to the effect. Therefore, the problems of merit are related to it. It is easy to conjecture from the whole context of Scotus' doctrine on grace that, as regards this problem of merit, it led him to the doctrine of acceptance and to deny a proper efficient causality, to a certain extent,<sup>47</sup> to the instruments playing a role in Christian perfection. Thus the will, properly speaking, has no causality in this regard, and consequently there is no proper merit *de condigno formaliter*.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, it remains true that the intermediary role of the intellect is incommensurably remote from the proper efficient causality as regards sanctity than the will, and that, if we compare both, the will excels to such a degree, that we may attribute an analogous efficient causality (of course, "meritorie tantum") to the will, even insofar as the supernatural is concerned in the proper sense. That this is the case, as regards the co-operation demanded by God, is not denied by Scotus in any form; it is rather the necessary presupposition of his doctrine of acceptance.<sup>49</sup> He only emphasizes the "effects" of the will ontologically, and for that reason from the viewpoint of value; these effects of the will remain far behind the reward which is given by God to this effect. The correspondence between effect and reward does not originate from the nature of the value of the acts of the creature, but from the commandment of God to perform these acts and from the will of God to reward these acts in this form. It remains true, however, that the reward

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47. Cfr. Woestyne, *Scholae Franciscanae Aptatus Cursus Philosophicus*, (Mechel., 1921), p. 353.

48. Cfr. Mingcs, *Die Gnadenlehre des Duns Skotus*, (Munster, 1906), p. 66 ss.

49. Scotus' concept of liberty and the exclusive efficiency of the will concerning its own act within the realm of created causes is otherwise unintelligible.

corresponds in a mysterious manner to the hierarchy of the acts of creature, and that, in a measure, is based on acceptance.<sup>50</sup>

From this viewpoint, knowledge as the instrumental cause comes closer to perfection, since it is one of the works which God demands for eternal life by fixing a minimum of knowledge which is absolutely required in order to obtain this goal. It follows, however, from the nature of our doctrine of acceptance that this is the case not because of the nature of knowledge or, even because of the nature of perfection itself, but simply because the Divine Will has ordained it that way.<sup>51</sup>

But even from the viewpoint of instrumental causality, knowledge is in a different relation to Christian perfection; for either it means grace as such, or, human co-operation. The ordinary means of the communication of grace are the Sacraments of the Church, the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the Church Herself as the Communion of Saints, Her Sacramentals and indulgences. There is a communication of grace through these means, and this communication comes very close to an efficient causality. In fact this communication is so proximate that the Council of Trent, after having called the Sacraments the *Causae Instrumentales* and God the only efficient cause,<sup>52</sup> in its seventh session could say of these very Sacraments that they contain (continere) grace and that they actually confer grace.<sup>53</sup> However, the expression commonly used in theology *signum efficax gratiae*, is avoided.

A similar causality in relation to sanctity should be attributed to the *word of God*. One could be led to infer: therefore, to knowledge. However, this is not the case. This causality belongs to the word of God not so much as a means for communicating supernatural ideas, but in the sense of "quasi-sacramentality", which is quite frequently mentioned in recent theology.<sup>54</sup> By this, theologians do not intend to insinuate that

50. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

51. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ss.

52. *DB*, n. 799.

53. *DB*, n. 849.

54. Cfr. Soiron, *Heilige Theologie*, (Regensburg, 1935). Although Soiron does not use this expression, his explanation would seem to depend on it.



the word of God is a means of passing on ideas, but rather that the word of God, coming from God, is the seed of faith pregnant with divine germs. This seed of Faith does not germinate and develop primarily towards an *intellectus fidei*, but is actually operating and working before this act; that is, as long as immaturity or ignorance, free from guilt, endures.<sup>55</sup> In the adult, however, God demands a minimum of knowledge. This knowledge, since it is not required previously, is only positively required. It is not, let us say, essentially or ontologically necessary. In any case, here a genuine knowledge enters and is active in communicating grace. Are we free also in this case to speak of a quasi-sacramentality? We believe that the expression is still justified although it should be understood with greater reservation than in the case of the Word of God in the sense of Fr. Soiron. At any rate it is not a conclusion arising from the idea of Christian perfection and from the nature of the knowledge in question, but it is rather a positive ordination of God, which immediately has to be interpreted from the viewpoint of the doctrine of acceptance. It is worthwhile to inquire into this problem.

An entirely different role has to be assigned to the mediating position of knowledge in the human co-operation with grace. We can speak of a real *human* co-operation only when knowledge and free will are joined in action. In this case, knowledge is also the instrument, but an instrument which is conditioned by human nature and by the nature of the respective act, and it cannot be eliminated without essential changes.<sup>56</sup> In the human co-operation with grace, knowledge plays the same relevant role as in human activity in general. Knowledge and will are deeply and vitally interwoven, since the intellect gives to the will its object, content, direction, motivation and end, and, in so doing, makes the blind striving a lightful loving. The power and the value, the causality and the source, without a doubt, lie in the will; and for this reason the will has the primacy. But this understanding is not simply obsequious but a royal power

55. It is not an easy task to fix the exact meaning of these theories.

56. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 3-5.

(*facultas*), since it is, in the same measure, spiritual and active as the will, though differently, and at a different place. The light of understanding is necessary in order that the volition may become meritorious, and in order that the will may be effective as regards perfection. For, without consciousness, at least as an *intentio habitualis* there cannot be merit. In order to achieve this consciousness the light of knowledge is essentially required.<sup>57</sup>

Let us now investigate in more detail how the instrumental causality of knowledge is related to the becoming, growth and being of perfection, understood in the sense of human co-operation with grace. We will immediately see that knowledge, *qua* knowledge (formaliter), is not the immediate instrument, but rather the content of knowledge. Knowledge, as knowledge, affects communication of grace only mediately. In the case of the will, the act of willing itself is instrumental; in the case of the intellect, however, it is not the act of knowing, but the content of this act. This content is a kind of connecting link between knowing and willing. It is the content which relates knowing, through the act of will, with Christian perfection.<sup>58</sup>

For this reason it is not correct to imagine the relation of cognition to will as if the will would use the intellect in the same manner as a blacksmith uses a hammer. Retaining this comparison, we would rather say that the will uses the intellect as a blacksmith uses a second blacksmith who, with a pair of tongs, holds the glowing iron on the anvil in order that the former may be able to work. Knowledge brings about conditions which are required for the human co-operation with divine grace.

From all that has been said, the relation of knowledge to the becoming, growth, and being of Christian perfection could be best determined with the Scotistic term: *Causa dispositiva mate-*

57. Cfr. Woestyne, *op. cit.*, II (1925), p. 217 ss; especially pp. 335 ss. It does not seem necessary here to quote special texts of Scotus since this doctrine is the basis of his psychology of the process of thought and his teaching on the primacy of the will.

58. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, per totam; II, d. 25, q. un.

*rials mediata*.<sup>59</sup> The *causa dispositiva* is, according to St. Thomas and Duns Scotus,<sup>60</sup> to be equated with the *causa instrumentalis*, at least approximately and from the point of view under consideration. The former expression, however, would seem to be clearer. We have to add "materialis", since knowledge has the task to provide the will with a content. And "mediata" has to be added, since knowledge not as the act of knowing, but as the content of an act of knowing, exercises this function immediately.

We have to add, however, that there is also a certain direct function of knowledge. Yet, it would be too much to say that this function would make it a *causa dispositiva directa mediata*, without further qualification. For then the very delicate and manifold mutual relation of guidance between will and knowledge would not be correctly expressed. By far the larger number of such relations originate in the will, so that the will has the main burden as well as the main honor of this guidance. Knowledge interferes, but only mediately, viz., through the communicated content, which is not only the object, but also the direction, the motivation and the fixing of an end for the will.<sup>61</sup> The manner of transmitting the content in this broad sense through cognition is not absolutely necessary, since God uses only a secondary cause. But He employs it so that in the realm of natural conditions the will cannot reach beyond the content transmitted by cognition. In mysticism God leads the will much further than the cognition, in comparison with the known con-

59. We consciously avoid the expression "remota", since it may not have the meaning of actuating cause, at least for Scotists; the expression "mediata" is unequivocal.

60. Cfr. footnotes 45 & 46.

61. In *Oxon.*, Pröl. q. 4. Scotus returns several times to this function of the intellect as, for example, in n. 6. This direct function, which results immediately from the explanation, does not belong formally to the intellect; rather it belongs to the content to which the will conforms itself by its own power: "Cognitionem autem esse priorem naturaliter praxi, et conformem, non est esse conformatam praxi quasi priori; sed esse conformativam praxi, quasi posterioris: sive esse cui praxi sit conformanda, quod est cognitionem dirigere et regulare praxim. Utrum autem sic dirigere, vel conformare sibi praxim sit aliqua efficientia in cognitione, respectu praxi, de hoc 25 dist. secundi libri." *Oxon.*, Pröl. q. 4, n. 6. The solution given by Scotus in the place referred to is negative: Cognition has no efficiency as regards the will.

tent, could explain. In such a case, the *causa prima* goes beyond the *causa secunda*. If all this is taken together, then it seems that knowing, *qua* knowing, has only the basic task of a *causa dispositiva materialis mediata*. Perhaps it would be even more exact to say that it is only a *causa disponens materiam*. For cognition does not become the material cause of the co-operation with grace.

As the "causa disponens materiam", cognition does not enter as the efficient cause and even less as the formal cause of Christian perfection, but remains extrinsic to them. However, this again can be misunderstood. The mutual relation is so delicate and subtle that our terms, fashioned for more coarse connections, do not suffice to determine this relation unequivocally. Intellect and will are distinguished only "virtually" in the soul which in its being is simple, and therefore are really identical.<sup>62</sup> Hence, there results such an intimate "being in each other" in action, that one can attribute to cognition much more than that which formally belongs to it.

Cognition is also an instrument in the being of Christian perfection. However, a new aspect is added: It is a role in the state of glory. For the rest, its relation to perfection remains the same: for in the becoming and in the growth of perfection, it remains the "Causa disponens materiam". Beatitude, properly speaking, does not belong to perfection.<sup>63</sup> But it is a gift inseparably bound by God with perfection, and which is, at the same time, gift and reward. Through the unveiled and everlasting beatitude in heaven, which here upon earth is imperfect, perfection, liable to be lost as well as hidden under the veil of Faith, arrives at its real completion. Although perfection and glory are not identical, nevertheless, they are connected and disposed towards one another. It would hardly become the magnanimity of God finally to deny this beatitude to the perfect Christian soul. In eternal beatitude, knowledge, both natural

62. It is, of course, understood that "virtualiter distincta" used here does not have the sense of the Thomistic virtual distinction, but rather that of the formal distinction. Cfr. Woestyne, *op. cit.*, II, 504.

63. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

and of glory, is as it were the light by means of which the soul beholds and enjoys all things: God, the whole creation, and the soul's own perfection. Rational beatitude is conscious beatitude. Although beatitude belongs formally in the will and comes to being in the will, nevertheless, it is not as perfect without the light of knowledge as it would be with the light of cognition. Without cognition beatitude might be there, but it is not known, not conscious, and hence is blind. Through cognition the will not only obtains the content in which it fills itself with bliss, but the beatitude itself becomes rational and unveiled. Thus, knowledge is also in the relation of *causa disponens materiam* to the being of Christian perfection and to beatitude.<sup>64</sup>

It may appear from this that the role of knowledge in the fitting growth and being of Christian perfection is not very important. It has only an intermediary role and even that mediately. Nevertheless, it plays an important role. Though we cannot attribute to cognition an immediate causality as regards perfection, and though properly speaking, it always remains outside, nevertheless, it is essential, basic, and according to God's design, normally necessary. Without cognition perfection cannot develop.

The more perfect, comprehensive, deeper and richer knowledge is in every respect, the better it can fulfill its task to present material to the will for Christian perfection. In fact, there is no knowledge which does not serve this task since there is no other ultimate end for rational creatures except Christian perfection. All other knowledge which does not serve this task is vain, i. e., a knowledge which is deprived of the very best that is in it. This is true, especially for Theology. But it is also true for all the other sciences, and, in fact, every branch of knowledge even though it is not classified as a science; all knowledge then, in general, exists only in view of this ultimate and all-embracing task even though it is subordinated to other ends of the science which are more proximate. It is self-evident

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64. Cfr. the famous q. 4 in *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49.

that sacred theology approaches this task much more closely. The other sciences form a hierarchic order which, under the point of view of causality, are gradually more and more remote from Christian perfection. The natural sciences, for instance, are in a more mediate relation to Christian perfection than theology. Nevertheless, this mediacy is the ultimate and best in every branch of knowledge.

Hence, that knowledge should be esteemed the most valuable which fulfills this task most perfectly; for only such knowledge will be considered eternally valuable before the Divine Tribunal. In the light of this it is true to say: "One knows only as much as one has done."<sup>65</sup>

Although all knowledge should serve this task, not every branch of knowledge is necessary for man in order to reach, to a minimum at least, this ultimate goal. The necessity of knowledge starts where the minimum of knowledge begins as determined by God. He who possesses this minimum of knowledge has a sufficient knowledge capable of the highest endeavours of the will and the deepest love. God, known in this minimum of knowledge, deserves, in the light of this primary cognition, all love and devotion.

This truth that a minimum of knowledge suffices as a foundation for the mighty edifice of holiness, as related by Saint Bonaventure to Brother Giles, comforted and embosomed the latter in a state of ecstasy for a long time.

Although, theoretically speaking, this minimum of knowledge is sufficient, practically speaking, however, it will never be sufficient. For there are circumstances, tasks, professions and also vocations which demand a greater knowledge. Think, for instance, of the priest, of whom it is said in Holy Writ: "Labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem requirent ex ore eius: quia angelus Domini exercituum est."<sup>66</sup> If this is true of the priesthood of the Old Testament, how much more so for the priesthood of the New Testament; for Christ has given to His

66. *Malach.* ii, 7.

65. Vd. footnote 1.

priest not only the office of teaching, but also power of teaching. In addition, the priest has the power to judge and to govern the Church of God, and that power is so perfect that beyond the Catholic priesthood there is no court of appeal. Whatever the Catholic priesthood teaches within its fixed limits is taught by Heaven.<sup>67</sup> These powers demand, according to the design of God, a tremendous amount of co-operation, and this the Church time and again brings home to Her priests. They should distinguish themselves not only by their perfection but by knowledge as well. The knowledge of a priest should be completely in the service of Christian perfection, and that for the priest himself and for all other members of the Mystical Body of Christ. For all and for themselves, through their knowledge, the priests must be "donors of spirit and life".<sup>68</sup> Thus, they should strive after the highest thing of all: the *Docta sanctitas*.

But elsewhere, too, a larger knowledge is not only advisable but also necessary. The human mind in the possession of only a rude knowledge is not immediately able to evaluate all the consequences of the existence of God. Furthermore, the flood of life is streaming too powerfully, and is carrying with it too many various things and situations, which always have the tendency to distract man's attention. Hence it is necessary to recall to mind time and again the eternal truths, and to grasp them deeper and deeper, if they really will *deploy* their inner power in daily life for the benefit of Christian perfection, as they are supposed to do. This explains the commandments of the Church as regards Christian doctrine: it demands more than the mere minimum. And this, too, explains the ancient and venerable, and, nevertheless, ever new word of Vincent of Lerin: "Crescat igitur oportet et multum vehementerque proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius

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67. *Matt.* xviii, 18.

68. St. Francis in his *Testament*.

Ecclesiae, aetatem ac saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia, sed in uno dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia."<sup>69</sup>

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69. *Commonitorium*, n. 23.



EDITION OF QUAESTIO 10a DIST. 2ae OF  
OCKHAM'S ORDINATIO

**I**N PREPARING this preliminary critical edition of the tenth question of the second distinction of Ockham's Ordinatio or Commentary on the First Book of Sentences, we have examined completely one Incunabala-edition, and the four most accurate manuscripts. Our primary source of the information relative to the description and evaluation of the manuscripts has been the article of Father Philotheus Boehner in *The New Scholasticism* for July, 1942, entitled *The Text Tradition of Ockham's Ordinatio*.

The Incunabala-edition is that of Lyons (1495), which differs so very slightly from the only other edition (Strassburg, 1486) that it was deemed unnecessary to cite the latter. The edition is indicated in the footnotes by E.

The first manuscript of the four studied, presenting the first "redaction", is indicated by F, which stands for Firenze (Bibl. Naz. A. 3. 801). This manuscript was written probably in the first half of the 14th century, that is, before the death of Ockham.

The second manuscript is referred to as T (Troyes 718) written in the early 14th century.

The third manuscript, Ma (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 894) written in the 14th century, is very important because it belongs to a different family from the other three manuscripts studied.

The fourth manuscript, Ob (Oxford, Balliol College 229) was written before 1368 according to the catalogue. With F and T it forms one family of manuscripts, distinct from Ma.

All four of the manuscripts seem to have much better texts than the Incunabala-edition. In particular, it should be noted that all four manuscripts contain a long passage at the end of the text, which passage is omitted almost entirely by the Edition.

## SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS QUESTION

Ockham's title of the question, namely, whether there is only one God, is identical with the one employed by Scotus in his Oxford Commentary on the Sentences. Ockham follows closely with a long and faithful presentation of particular arguments of Scotus, taken almost verbatim from the *Oxonienne*. Thus the first section of this question of Ockham (A to G) is devoted entirely to the arguments of Scotus.

We have checked this portion very carefully with the *Oxonienne* as found in the Vivès Edition as well as in the Assisi manuscript (Assisi, Comm. cod. 137). Our intention was to point out any important differences between these two versions in the passages followed by Ockham. However, there have been no substantial differences which could in any way affect the understanding of this section. The Assisi manuscript does contain many clauses and even sentences not found in the Vivès text. However, Ockham does not cite any of these. On the other hand Ockham often gives the exact wording of the Assisi text, as for example in the title of his question.

In the second section Ockham presents his doubts with regard to particular arguments of Scotus. Even here Ockham frequently quotes Scotus, often to support his own argumentation. In this part of the question we must not look for Ockham's own proof, which is offered elsewhere. Here he examines the proof of Scotus, accepts the main conclusions, and offers his own objections—objections which are directed mainly against the logical procedure whereby Scotus has reached these conclusions. It is clear then, that no attempt is made by Ockham to give a full picture of Scotus' long and painstaking proof. The objections offered by Ockham are directed against certain points in the logical development of Scotus' proof.

## OCKHAM'S PRESENTATION OF SCOTUS' PROOF

Ockham repeats Scotus' proof and divides it into two articles according to the arrangement in the *Oxonienne*.

Article 1. The existence of an *Ens Primum*.

- a. Proof of a First Being in efficient causality.
- b. Distinction between causes *per se* and *per accidens*.
- c. Three distinctions between essentially ordered and accidentally ordered causes.
- d. Impossibility of an infinite series of essentially ordered causes, shown by five proofs.

## Article 2. Unicity of the First Nature, shown by four proofs.

## PORTIONS OF SCOTUS' PROOF OMITTED BY OCKHAM

It may be well to enumerate briefly the portions of Scotus' long proof which Ockham does *not* treat in this question.

- a. Explanation of a proposition *per se nota*, as a preliminary aid to the clarification of our knowledge of God.
- b. Reasons for the selection of an *a posteriori* proof.
- c. Proof that an infinity of accidentally ordered causes is impossible unless based upon essentially ordered causes.
- d. Proof that the First *Effectivum* must exist of itself, if it can exist.
- e. Proof of the existence of a First Final Cause.
- f. Proof of the existence of a First Eminent Nature.
- g. Infinity of the First Nature.

## CRITIQUE OF SCOTUS BY OCKHAM

After completing his synopsis of the arguments of Scotus, Ockham presents (G to N) his own doubts and criticisms pertinent to the arguments of Scotus contained in the first article (A to F). Ockham's critique is directed chiefly against (1) the distinction made by Scotus between a *causa per se* and a *causa per accidens*, and (2) the distinctions between essentially and accidentally ordered causes. An article containing a discussion of these differences between Scotus and Ockham is being prepared for *Franciscan Studies* by Father Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.

Ockham next presents (N) his criticisms of the four-fold proof of Scotus for the unicity of the First Nature, as contained in

the second article (F). Scotus is to be granted his conclusion, states Ockham, and his three last proofs are *probabiles*, although a *protervus* could advance some objections which would be difficult to refute. Here we have the only reference to the demonstrative value of Scotus' proof. We can infer that Ockham did not believe that Scotus had successfully demonstrated (in the strict meaning of the word) the unicity of the first nature, but had given three *probationes*, or arguments leading to moral certitude.

#### OUTLINE OF CRITIQUE OF FOUR PROOFS FOR UNICITY

- a. Impossibility of two necessary natures, based upon Scotus' doctrine of the *natura communis*.  
By several lengthy arguments Ockham rejects this proof as simply false. There is a fundamental disagreement throughout, since Ockham rejected Scotus' notion of a *natura communis*.
- b. Impossibility of two most eminent natures.  
Ockham accepts this proof as *probabilis*, but objects that Scotus' statement that forms are like numbers was not sufficiently proved.
- c. Impossibility of two ultimate ends.
- d. Impossibility of two natures upon both of which anything would totally depend.  
Ockham simply accepts these last two proofs of Scotus' as *probabiles*, but adds that they could be defended only with difficulty against a *protervus*.

## A

Ultimo circa istam partem istius distinctionis quaero:

UTRUM SIT TANTUM UNUS DEUS.\*

Quod non, quia ens simpliciter primum est Deus. Sed non est tantum unum ens simpliciter primum.<sup>1</sup> Ergo non est tantum unus Deus.

Maior est manifesta. Minorem probo,<sup>2</sup> quia non magis est unum simpliciter primum in toto ordine entium quam in aliquo ordine entium determinato. Sed in multis ordinibus entium non est aliquod unum primum; sed est processus in infinitum sicut patet in numeris et in<sup>3</sup> figuris,<sup>4</sup> intellectionibus,<sup>5</sup> et volitionibus; ergo et cetera. Ad oppositum Exodi tertio:\*\* "Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus unus est."

## B

Circa istam quaestionem, quia omnes intelligunt<sup>1</sup> Deum esse ens simpliciter primum, ideo primo videndum est: utrum sit aliquod ens simpliciter primum<sup>2</sup> ita quod nihil sit prius eo; secundo,<sup>3</sup> an tale ens primum sit praecise unum sine talium pluralitate.

Circa primum dicitur: quod potest probari quod est aliquod ens primum et primitate causalitatis effectivae et primitate causalitatis finalis et primitate eminentiae.

Primum probatur sic: Aliquod ens est effectibile;† aut<sup>4</sup> ergo a se, aut a nullo, aut ab aliquo alio. Nec a se nec a nullo, manifestum est; ergo ab alio effectivo.<sup>5</sup>

Sit<sup>6</sup> illud A. Tunc quaero: aut<sup>7</sup> A est simpliciter primum, et

A 1. *om. FTOb.* 2. *primum add. TOB.* 3. *om. EOOb.* 4. *et add. ET.* 5. *intentionibus TOB.*

\*Idem titulus—*Oxon.* I, d. 2, q. 3, n. 1; VIII, 487.

\*\*Sic omnes mss.; sed textus citatus invenitur in Deut. VI, 4, et sic habet Scotus in loc. cit.

B 1. *intendunt Ma.* 2. *ideo post videndum est utrum sit aliquod ens simpliciter primum add. Ob.* 3. *ideo FT.* 4. *om. Ma.* 5. *effective FT; om. E.* 6. *sicut F.* 7. *illud add. Ma.* 8. *aliquo MaOb.* 9. *Tunc quaero de B repetit FT.* 10. *quaeritur*

habetur propositum, aut non est simpliciter primum et tunc est ab alio<sup>8</sup> effectibile. Sit illud B. Tunc quaero de B<sup>9</sup> sicut<sup>10</sup> prius.

Et ita vel erit processus in infinitum vel stabitur ad aliquid simpliciter primum. Sed impossibile est ponere processum in infinitum. Ergo est status ad aliquod simpliciter primum.

Et si instetur quod secundum Philosophum in generationibus est ponere processum in infinitum, dicitur quod ista instantia non valet;<sup>11</sup> quia philosophi non posuerunt processum in infinitum in causis essentialiter ordinatis, sed tantum in accidentaliter ordinatis.

Circa<sup>12</sup> quod dicunt esse sciendum quod aliud est loqui de causis per se et per accidens, et aliud est loqui de causis per se sive essentialiter<sup>13</sup> et accidentaliter ordinatis. Nam in primo tantum est comparatio unius ad unum, causae, videlicet, ad effectum; et est causa per se, quae<sup>14</sup> secundum naturam propriam, et non secundum aliquid sibi accidens, causat; et causa per accidens e converso.†

### C

In secundo autem est comparatio duarum causarum inter se, inquantum ab eis est causatum.<sup>1</sup> Et differunt causae per se sive essentialiter ordinatae a<sup>2</sup> per accidens sive accidentaliter ordinatis<sup>3</sup> in tribus.

Prima differentia est, quod<sup>4</sup> in per se ordinatis, secunda inquantum causat<sup>5</sup> dependet a prima: in<sup>6</sup> per accidens non, licet in esse vel in aliquo alio dependeat.

Secunda differentia est,<sup>7</sup> quod in per se ordinatis est causalitas alterius rationis, quia superior est perfectior; in accidentaliter ordinatis non. Haec sequitur ex prima; nam nulla causa a causa eiusdem rationis dependet<sup>8</sup> essentialiter in causando, quia<sup>9</sup> in causatione alicuius<sup>10</sup> sufficit unum unius rationis.

*add. Ma.* 11. non valet *marg. Ma.* 12. propter *Ma.* 13. ordinatis *add. Ma.* 14. quod *Ma;* quia *Ob.*

†"Scotus—liber primus, distinctione secunda" / *nota marg. F. Oxon.* I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 11; VIII, 416.

‡*Oxon.* I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 12; VIII, 417.

C 1. ab. . . . *transp. EFT.* 2. et *E.* 3. ordinatae *E.* 4. quia *Ma;* *om. E.* 5. causa *E.* 6. sed *Ma.* 7. *om. F.* 8. *T. transp. post essentialiter.* 9. et *ET.* 10. talis *add. Ma.* 11. *om. Ma.* 12. *om. Ma.*

Tertia differentia est, quod omnes causae essentialiter ordinatae necessario simul requiruntur ad causandum; alioquin aliqua per se causalitas deesset effectui. In accidentaliter autem<sup>11</sup> ordinatis non est<sup>12</sup> sic, quia non requiritur simultas eorum in causando.

## D

Ex his<sup>1</sup> ostenditur: Quod infinitas causarum essentialiter ordinarum est impossibilis; secundo, quod infinitas accidentaliter ordinarum<sup>2</sup> est impossibilis, nisi ponatur status in essentialiter ordinatis.\*

Primum probatur primo: quia universitas causatorum essentialiter ordinarum<sup>3</sup> est causata; ergo ab aliqua<sup>4</sup> causa quae<sup>5</sup> non est aliquid universitatis, quia tunc esset causa sui ipsius. Tota enim universitas dependentium<sup>6</sup> dependet, et a nullo illius universitatis.

Secundo, quia causae infinitae essent simul in actu—ex tertia differentia.<sup>7</sup>

Tertio, quia prius est quod est principio propinquius, ex<sup>8</sup> tertio Metaphysicae; \*\* ergo ubi non est principium, nihil essentialiter est prius.

Quarto, quia causa superior est perfectior in causando, ex secunda differentia; ergo in infinitum superior est in infinitum perfectior, et ita erit<sup>9</sup> infinitae perfectionis in causando, et per consequens nihil causabit in virtute alterius.

## E

Quinto, quia effectivum nullam imperfectionem ponit necessario; ergo potest esse in aliquo sine imperfectione. Ergo potest esse in aliquo sine dependentia ad aliquid prius; ergo et cetera. Consimiliter probat quod est aliquid primum primitate causalitatis finalis et eminentiae, et quod ista triplex prioritas<sup>1</sup> in eodem invenitur.

D 1. istis E. 2. ordinarum E. 3. marg. Ma. 4. alia F. 5. quia F. 6. om. Ma. 7. in actu . . . . variat Ma. 8. om. Ma. 9. esset in F.

\*Oxon. I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 14; VIII, 418.

\*\*op. cit., lib. 5, cap. 11, (1018 b 8-29).

E 1. primitas EMa.

## F

Ex istis respondet ad secundum articulum quod tale primum<sup>1</sup> est tantum<sup>2</sup> unum. Circa quod probandum probat<sup>3</sup> primo quod tale primum<sup>4</sup> est necesse esse. Secundo ex hoc arguit quod tale primum<sup>5</sup> est tantum unum.

Primum sic: Quia si duae naturae sint necesse esse, aliquibus propriis realitatibus<sup>6</sup> vel rationibus realibus distinguuntur, et dicantur A et B; tunc arguitur<sup>7</sup> sic: illae rationes reales, scilicet, A et B, aut<sup>8</sup> sunt rationes formaliter necessario essendi, aut non. —Si sic, et praeter hoc<sup>9</sup> ista duo per illud in quo<sup>10</sup> conveniunt sunt necesse esse formaliter; ergo utrumque duabus rationibus formalibus erit necesse esse: quod est impossibile, quia cum neutra istarum rationum includat alteram, utraque<sup>11</sup> istarum circumscripta, erit necesse esse per aliam, et ita erit aliquid<sup>12</sup> necesse esse per<sup>13</sup> illud,<sup>14</sup> quo circumscripto, nihil minus esset necesse esse.†

Si vero per illas<sup>15</sup> rationes quibus differunt<sup>16</sup> neutrum sit<sup>17</sup> formaliter<sup>18</sup> necesse esse, ergo illae rationes non sunt rationes necessario essendi: et ita sequitur quod neutra includitur in necesse esse; quia quaecumque entitas non est necesse esse, est de se possibilis. Sed nihil possibile includitur in necesse esse, quia necesse esse nihil includit quod non sit necesse esse vel ratio necessario essendi.<sup>19</sup>

Secundo probatur idem: quia duae naturae eminentissimae non possunt esse in universo; ergo nec duo prima<sup>20</sup> effectiva.—Probatio antecedentis: quia 'species se habent sicut numeri' ex octavo Metaphysicae,‡ et per consequens duae non possunt esse in eodem ordine; ergo nec multo magis<sup>21</sup> duae primae possunt esse nec duae eminentissimae.

Hoc<sup>22</sup> etiam probatur tertio per rationem de ratione finis: quia duo fines ultimi<sup>23</sup> si essent, haberent duas coordinationes

F 1. principium E. 2. nomen *add. Ma.* 3. *EMa transp. post* primo. 4. principium E. 5. tale primum *om. E.* 6. realibus *Ma*; distinguuntur *add. Ob.* 7. arguo E. 8. *om. Ob.* 9. *om. F.*; haec *Ob.* 10. quibus *Ob.* 11. utralibet *MaOb.* 12. *om. Ma.* 13. praeter *Ob.* 14. aliquid E. 15. *T. transp. post* rationes. 16. differrent *Ma.* 17. esset *Ma.* 18. *om. Ma.* 19. *Sequentia usque ad . . . istam triplicem prinitatem. om. KMa.* 20. *om. E.* 21. multo magis *om. E.* 22. adhuc



entium ad se, ita quod ista entia ad illa nullum ordinem haberent, quia nec ad finem illorum; nam quae ordinarentur ad unum finem ultimum non possunt<sup>24</sup> ordinari ad alium, quia eiusdem causati duas esse causas totales vel perfectas in eodem ordine, est impossibile. Tunc enim aliquid esset in aliquo ordine causa,<sup>25</sup> quo non posito, nihil minus esset perfecte<sup>26</sup> causatum; ordinata ergo ad unum finem ultimum nullo modo ordinarentur ad alium,<sup>27</sup> et ita ex his et ex<sup>28</sup> illis nullo modo fieret<sup>29</sup> unum univ-  
ersum.

Hoc confirmatur in communi,<sup>30</sup> quia nulla duo terminantia possunt terminare<sup>31</sup> totaliter<sup>32</sup> dependentiam alicuius unius et<sup>33</sup> eiusdem, quia tunc illud terminaret dependentiam, quo subtracto, nihil minus terminaretur illa<sup>34</sup> dependentia; et ita non esset dependentia ad illud. Sed ad<sup>35</sup> efficiens<sup>36</sup> et eminens et ad<sup>37</sup> finem dependent alia essentialiter; ergo nullae duae naturae possunt esse primo<sup>38</sup> terminantia<sup>39</sup> alia entia secundum istam triplicem<sup>40</sup> dependentiam praecise;<sup>41</sup> est<sup>42</sup> ergo aliqua una natura terminans<sup>43</sup> entia<sup>44</sup> secundum istam triplicem dependentiam, et ita habens istam triplicem primitatem.\*

## G

Sed contra praedicta sunt aliqua dubia: primum quod dicitur de causa per se et causa per accidens. Si enim<sup>1</sup> intelligat sicut communiter intelligitur quod haec sit vera: "Calidum per se calefacit" et haec non: "Album per se calefacit"; sed quod haec sit vera: "Album per accidens calefacit"—hoc non est verum, quia quandocumque aliquod praedicatum inest illi pro quo subiectum supponit, vel pronomini demonstranti<sup>2</sup> praecise illud pro quo subiectum supponit<sup>3</sup>; et tali modo quo denotatur sibi

T. 23. duae species ultimae E. 24. possent E. 25. causae Ob. 26. E transp. post causatum. 27. aliud ET. 28. om. T. 29. fit T. 30. in communi om. T. 31. terminari T. 32. om. T. 33. om. E. 34. quae Ob. 35. sed ad om. T; sed ad om. Ob. cum lacuna. 36. sufficiens T. 37. om. E. 38. om. T. 39. terminantes E. 40. EOb transp. post dependentiam. 41. om. Ob. 42. TOB transp. post ergo. 43. om. Ob. 44. essentiam T.

†Oxon. I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 19; VIII, 436 b-437 b.

†op. cit., lib. 8, cap. 3 (1043 b 33-1044 a 14); lib. 5, cap. 6, (1016 b 36).

\*Hic finit citatio Oxon.

G 1. om. Ma. 2. Ma transp. post praecise. 3. vel pronomini . . . / om. F.

inesse, illa propositio est simpliciter vera. Sed in istis duabus propositionibus: "Album per se calefacit" et "Calidum per se calefacit": si idem sit album et calidum,<sup>5</sup> subiecta<sup>6</sup> supponunt pro eodem. Ergo, si una sit vera, reliqua erit vera.

Si dicatur quod tunc ita esset haec per se: "Album calefacit", sicut haec est<sup>7</sup> per se: "Calidum calefacit", dico quod sive aliqua istarum sit per se sive non, consequentia non valet; quia impossibile<sup>8</sup> est aliquod praedicatum inesse aliquibus cum nota perseitatis, ita quod utraque illarum propositionum sumatur in sensu divisionis,<sup>9</sup> vel utraque sit<sup>10</sup> propositio aequipollens<sup>11</sup> sensui divisionis,<sup>12</sup> et tamen quod una propositio praedicans praedicatum de uno<sup>13</sup> subiecto sit possibilis et alia impossibilis.

Verbi gratia ponatur quod idem homo sit grammaticus et albus. Tunc<sup>14</sup> utraque istarum est vera:<sup>15</sup> "Grammaticum potest esse nigrum," et similiter<sup>16</sup> "Album potest esse nigrum." Et tamen haec est<sup>17</sup> possibilis: "Grammaticum est nigrum;" et haec est impossibilis: "Album est nigrum."<sup>18</sup> Et causa est quia per istam propositionem: "Album potest esse nigrum;" non denotatur<sup>19</sup> nisi quod<sup>20</sup> propositio in qua praedicatum praedicatur de illo pro quo modo album supponit,<sup>21</sup> sit possibilis; et non denotatur quod propositio in qua praedicatur hoc praedicatum de isto subiecto, sit possibilis. Et bene stant simul; quod<sup>22</sup> propositio in qua praedicatur<sup>23</sup> praedicatum de subiecto sit impossibilis, et tamen quod propositio in qua<sup>24</sup> praedicatur<sup>25</sup> idem praedicatum de illo pro quo hoc subiectum supponit vel de pronomine demonstrante illud,<sup>26</sup> sit possibilis.

Et ratio est quia subiectum contingenter supponit pro illo<sup>27</sup> pro quo supponit;<sup>28</sup> quia in ista propositione: "Album potest esse nigrum": subiectum supponit pro Sorte, si Sortes sit albus. Si autem fiat niger, tunc hoc subiectum non supponit pro Sorte;<sup>29</sup>

4. album per se . . . / *variat E*; etiam *add. Ob post se*. 5. et *add. Ma*. 6. *om. F*. 7. *om. T*. 8. possibile *EF*. 9. *diviso E*. 10. *E transp. post propositio*. 11. aequipollens *Ma*. 12. *diviso E*; vel utraque illarum propositionum sumatur in sensu divisionis *add. Ob. (Repetitio)*. 13. *om. E*. 14. *om. Ma*. 15. ponatur quod . . . / *om. T*. 16. *om. ET*. 17. *om. F*. 18. Et tamen . . . / *om. E*. 19. plus *add. E*. 20. de subiecto vel de pronomine demonstrante illud pro quo subiectum supponit possit praedicari praedicatum. Et hoc nihil aliud est nisi quod / *add. E*. 21. vel pro illo de pronomine demonstrante illud pro quo subiectum supponit / *add. MaOb*. 22. Haec *add. TOB*. 23. *E transp. post praedicatum*. 24. ponitur

quia hoc subiectum album non supponit<sup>30</sup> nisi pro illis quae sunt alba, et praecise dum sunt alba. Et<sup>31</sup> ita est in proposito; quod si haec sit vera: "Calidum per se calefacit": haec erit etiam<sup>32</sup> vera: "Album per se calefacit": si idem sit calidum et album.

Et tamen ex hoc non sequitur consequentia formalis<sup>33</sup> quod<sup>34</sup> si haec<sup>35</sup> sit per se: "Calidum calefacit", quod haec erit per se: "Album calefacit". Nec credo aliter istum doctorem sensisse, propter magnam notitiam quam habuit de logica.

## H

Et ideo potest dici quod causa per accidens est illud quod agit per aliquid aliud ab eo. Sed<sup>1</sup> tale non est nisi subiectum vel totum habens partem qua agit. Et isto modo potest dici quod ignis per accidens calefacit; et eodem modo quod<sup>2</sup> calidum per accidens calefacit. Et illo<sup>3</sup> modo potest dici quod homo per accidens ratiocinatur et similiter totum per accidens<sup>4</sup> agit<sup>5</sup> quando actio sibi<sup>6</sup> non convenit nisi mediante parte sua. Et ratio istius<sup>7</sup> est quia illud dicitur per accidens competere<sup>8</sup> alicui, quo amoto nihil minus potest esse; sed igne destructo et reservato calore, nihilominus poterit sequi calefactio, quia sicut ostendetur in quarto accidens actu<sup>9</sup> separatum ita potest agere sicut coniunctum.

Eodem modo illa actio quae competit homini mediante anima intellectiva poterit ita elici ab anima separata sicut a coniuncta. Et ideo actio quae<sup>10</sup> primo convenit parti dicitur convenire toti per accidens, quia convenit sibi per aliud. Similiter actio primo competens accidenti dicitur convenire suo subiecto<sup>11</sup> per accidens, quia per aliud. Et ita large accipiendo per accidens, secundum quod est illud<sup>12</sup> quod per aliud realiter distinctum, sic potest concedi<sup>13</sup> tam de subiecto accidentis quam de toto cuius parti primo convenit actio, quod est agens per accidens, et eodem modo quod est causa per accidens.

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*add. Ma.* 25. *E transp. post praedicatum.* 26. vel de pronomine demonstrante illud / *om. FOb.* 27. pro illo *om. E.* 28. vel de pronomine demonstrante illud sit possibile, et ratio est quia subiectum contingenter supponit pro illo pro quo supponit / *add. Ob.* 29. si Sortes . . . / *om. Ob.* 30. in propositione mere de inesse (et *add. Ma*) mere de praesenti / *add. EMa.* 31. *om. Ma.* 32. *om. Ma.* 33. formali *EMa.* 34. quia *FT.* 35. hoc *Ob.*

H 1. Si *Ma.* 2. *om. Ob.* 3. ideo *Ma.* 4. ratiocinatur . . . / *om. Ob.* 5. peragit

Sed causa per se est illud quod causat non per aliquid aliud realiter distinctum, sed per se; ita quod ipso posito, omni alio circumscripto quod non est causa in aliquo genere causae, poterit sequi effectus. Et isto modo ipse calor est causa<sup>14</sup> per se caloris; quia ipso posito et omni alio amoto quod non habet<sup>15</sup> rationem causae, poterit sequi calor in passo disposito et approximato. Et ideo calor per se causat calorem, quia non per aliud. Et isto modo ipsa anima intellectiva per se causat intellectionem et volitionem quia non per aliud, nisi secundum quod ly per notat circumstantiam causae partialis concurrentis.

Si dicatur quod Aristoteles dicit secundo Physicorum\* quod aedificator per se aedificat et album per accidens aedificat, similiter vult ibidem quod Policletus est causa statucae per accidens sed statuam faciens est causa<sup>16</sup> per se. Ergo eodem modo, quamvis lignum per accidens calefaciat, tamen calidum per se calefacit.

## I

Dico quod intentio philosophi est dicere quod de aliquo praedicatur per se praedicatum aliquod quando<sup>1</sup> oppositum praedicati sibi<sup>2</sup> non<sup>3</sup> potest inesse, et ideo quia haec potest esse vera: "Policletus non facit statuam": posita etiam<sup>4</sup> constantia subiecti, et haec non potest esse vera, posita constantia subiecti: "Statuam faciens non facit statuam".<sup>5</sup>

Similiter quantum est ex forma propositionis haec potest esse vera posita constantia subiecti: "Ignis non calefacit", et haec non: "Calefaciens non calefacit"; similiter quia<sup>6</sup> in aliqua propositione<sup>7</sup> exprimitur per se<sup>8</sup> causa rei, et<sup>9</sup> in alia<sup>10</sup> non. Et<sup>11</sup> ideo dicit Philosophus quod causa per se praedicatur de uno et non de alio. Unde per istam: "Calidum calefacit": expresse signi-

F. 6. *Ma transp. post* convenit. 7. Huius E. 8. E *transp. post* alicui. 9. activum MaOb. 10. *pro* "actio quae", quia / E. 11. toto F. 12. idem EMa. 13. quod *add. Ob.* 14. EMa *transp. post* se. 15. habent F. 16. est causa om. Ob.

\*op. cit., lib. 2, cap. 3 (195 a 34-35).

I 1. quamvis Ob. 2. *Ma transp. post* potest. 3. om. Ob *cum lacuna.* 4. om. Ma. 5. statuam faciens . . . posita constantia subiecti / *sic Ma.* 6. om. Ma. 7. semper *add. E.* 8. per se om. E. 9. etiam T. 10. aliqua ET. 11. om. FMa. 12. et E. 13. F *transp. post* calefacit. 14. per istam om. E. 15. per se *add. E.* 16. *pro* "secundum quod", quomodo / E. 17. *Sequentia usque ad* . . . Secundo /

ficatur calor, quae est causa per se quia<sup>12</sup> non per aliud; et non per istam: "Ignis<sup>13</sup> calefacit", vel per istam:<sup>14</sup> "Siccum calefacit"; et sic de consimilibus. Ideo dicit Philosophus unam esse per se et aliam per accidens; et hoc large accipiendo,<sup>15</sup> non stricte, secundum quod<sup>16</sup> distinguit Philosophus primo Posteriorum\*\* duos modos dicendi per se.

Nunc<sup>17</sup> autem ita est quod ista stant simul:<sup>18</sup> "Album per se calefacit", et haec est per accidens: "Album calefacit"; sicut ista stant simul:<sup>19</sup> "Album potest esse nigrum", et haec est impossibilis: "Album est nigrum". Et ideo vult Philosophus, quod haec est per se: "Statuam faciens est causa statuae", et haec est<sup>20</sup> per accidens: "Policletus est causa statuae"; et tamen<sup>21</sup> cum hoc stat quod utraque illarum sit vera: "Statuam faciens per se est causa statuae", et "Policletus per se est causa statuae",<sup>22</sup> accipiendo uno modo<sup>23</sup> per se et alio modo accipiendo<sup>24</sup> per se et<sup>25</sup> per accidens. Cum praedictis stant istae duae: "Statuam faciens per accidens est causa statuae", et "Policletus per accidens est causa statuae", et tamen quod una illarum de inesse sit per se et alia per accidens.

## K

Secundo, non est bene dictum de differentia<sup>1</sup> inter causas essentialiter<sup>2</sup> et accidentaliter ordinatas.

Prima differentia non est bene data, quia quaero: Quid<sup>3</sup> est<sup>4</sup> causam secundam dependere a prima in causando? Aut hoc est requirere causam primam ad hoc quod causet, quia sine ea causare non potest; aut quia in suo esse dependet a prima; vel quia<sup>5</sup> recipit virtutem activam vel aliquam influentiam a prima.

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*om. F.* 18. similiter *E.* 19. similiter *E.* 20. *om. ET.* 21. *om. E.* 22. et "Policletus . . ." / *om. MaOb.* 23. uno modo *om. Ob.* 24. alio modo accipiendo *om. Ob.* 25. per se et *om. EOOb.*

\*\**op. cit.*, lib. 1, cap. 4 (73 a 21-73 b 15).

K 1. differentis *E.* 2. ordinatas *add. E.* 3. quae *FT.* 4. per se *add. Ma.* 5. requirit *add. Ma.* 6. *om. F.* 7. *om. E.* 8. *E transp. post* multis. 9. et *add. Ob.* 10. *om. E.* 11. *Ma transp. post* suos. 12. non *F.* 13. Tum *add. E.* 14. est *E.* 15. erit *E;* causa *add. E.* 16. *om. Ma.* 17. *om. E.* 18. et in *add. F. et om.* in esse et. 19. in *add. MaOb.* 20. *E transp. post* effectus. 21. non *F.* 22. sit *add. E.* 23. patet *E.* 24. *E transp. post* absolutam. 25. localem nec formam aliquam absolutam/ *add. Ma et delet.* 26. *om. E.* 27. et tamen . . . / *om. T.* 28.

Sic enim arguit<sup>6</sup> iste doctor contra unum alium doctorem,<sup>7</sup> ostendens quod intelligentia secunda, si movet sicut secundum movens, causatur a prima intelligentia. Primum non potest dari, quia sicut<sup>8</sup> in multis causa secunda non potest causare sine prima,<sup>9</sup> ita nec e converso. Ergo tunc<sup>10</sup> non plus isto modo dependet causa secunda a prima in causando quam e converso. Assumptum patet; quia sicut in istis inferioribus multa agentia particularia non possunt causare effectus<sup>11</sup> suos sine sole, ita sol non potest in multos effectus sine causis secundis.

Nec<sup>12</sup> potest dari secundum;<sup>13</sup> quia ita contingit in causis accidentaliter ordinatis tum quia tunc universaliter quicquid esset<sup>14</sup> causa causae esset<sup>15</sup> per<sup>16</sup> se et essentialis causa<sup>17</sup> causati—quod negat iste doctor et bene. Cuius ratio est quia aliquando causa dependet<sup>18</sup> in esse et<sup>19</sup> conservari ab aliquo alio, sine quo tamen si causa conservaretur a Deo sine eo, nihilominus posset esse<sup>20</sup> effectus. Et ipso posito et alio amoto, non posset esse effectus. Ergo illud non habet rationem causae respectu illius effectus.

Nec<sup>21</sup> potest dari tertium; quia talis influentia vel motio non posset esse nisi<sup>22</sup> vel motus localis vel ad aliquam formam substantialem vel accidentalem. Sed manifestum est<sup>23</sup> quod frequenter causa secunda in agendo, nec motum localem nec formam aliquam<sup>24</sup> absolutam recipit a prima.

Praeterea secundum istum<sup>25</sup> doctorem alibi obiectum et intellectus sunt duae causae partiales respectu intellectionis, et tamen secundum eundem neutra causa<sup>26</sup> dependet ab alia in causando sed<sup>27</sup> utraque agit virtute propria.<sup>28</sup> Tunc quaero: Aut istae causae<sup>29</sup> sunt essentialiter ordinatae, aut accidentaliter. Si essentialiter, habeo propositum quod non semper<sup>30</sup> secunda dependet a prima in causando, quia utraque virtute propria<sup>31</sup> causat. Si sint<sup>32</sup> accidentaliter ordinatae, ergo una posset agere sine alia—quod<sup>33</sup> negat et est manifeste falsum. Confirmatur quia secundum eum alibi\* intellectus respectu intellectionis<sup>34</sup> est causa principalis et universalis et illimitata, et tamen obiectum in causando non dependet ab eo.

virtute propria *om. Ob.* 29. *E transp. post sunt.* 30. causa *add. Ma.* 31. propria *om. Ma.* 32. *Ma sic correxit pro sunt.* 33. non posset agere sine alia quod / *add. Ma.* 34. intentionis *FT.*

\**Oxon.* I, d. 3, q. 8, n. 2; IX, 399.

## L

Contra secundam differentiam: Quando accipit quod causae essentialiter ordinatae sunt alterius rationis et alterius ordinis quia causa<sup>1</sup> superior est perfectior, aut accipitur superioritas pro prioritate secundum perfectionem aut pro prioritate secundum illimitationem. Si primo modo hoc esset<sup>2</sup> petere<sup>3</sup> quod causae sint<sup>4</sup> alterius ordinis, quia perfectior est perfectior. Ergo oportet quod accipiat secundo modo et dicat quod omnis causa illimitior est perfectior causa magis limitata. Sed hoc est simpliciter falsum, quia aliquando causa illimitior est simpliciter imperfectior et aliquando perfectior.<sup>5</sup>

Exemplum primi secundum istum doctorem: Corpus caeleste quia non<sup>6</sup> vivum<sup>7</sup> est imperfectius animali perfecto vivo, et tamen cum asino vel<sup>8</sup> cum<sup>9</sup> alio animali concurrit sicut causa illimitior ad producendum aliud animal. Ergo ibi<sup>10</sup> causa illimitior<sup>11</sup> est imperfectior. Similiter, si intellectus humanus intelligat essentiam angeli, causa illimitior illius intellectionis est intellectus humanus et causa limitior est essentia angeli. Et tamen intellectus humanus<sup>12</sup> est imperfectior essentia angeli. Similiter calor cum anima vegetativa concurrit sicut causa illimitior ad aliquem effectum producendum, sicut post ostendetur, et tamen calor est imperfectior. Exemplum secundi: Caelum sicut causa illimitior concurrit cum elementis ad alios<sup>13</sup> effectus producendos. Et voluntas sicut causa illimitior concurrit cum sensibilibus vel cum intelligibilibus ad producendum volitiones. Et voluntas est causa perfectior, et similiter caelum est perfectius elementis.

## M

Contra tertiam differentiam: Si intelligat quod numquam in causis essentialiter<sup>1</sup> ordinatis potest una agere sine alia, hoc non videtur verum; tum quia secundum eum et secundum veritatem aliqua animalia generata per propogationem, ubi concurrunt

L 1. *om. E.* 2. est *EOb.* 3. principium *add. E.* 4. essent *E;* sunt *Ob.* 5. et aliquando . . . / *om. Ma.* 6. est *add. EMa.* 7. unum *F.* 8. et *E.* 9. *om. ET.* 10. in *F.* 11. ad producendum . . . / *om. Ma.* 12. et causa . . . / *om. Ob.* 13. aliquos *EMa.*

M 1. *om. Ma.* 2. sed *Ma.* 3. praecedens *MaOb.* 4. qua *add. FT.* 5. *om. Ma.* 6. dicitur *ET.*

corpus caeleste et agens particulare, possunt produci per putrefactionem ubi<sup>2</sup> agens producens<sup>3</sup> particulare non concurrat; ergo ibi agit causa universalis sine<sup>4</sup> particulari—et si dicatur quod tunc<sup>5</sup> causa particularis superflueret, dico quod non, sed causa quare non superfluit dicitur<sup>6</sup> in secundo libro—tum quia secundum istum doctorem alibi idem filius potuit habuisse diversos patres, ergo multo fortius diversas causas equivocatas, ita quod sine una illarum posset produci.

N

Contra dicta in secundo articulo:\*

Quamvis conclusio sit concedenda et tres ultimae rationes sint probabiles,<sup>1</sup> tamen prima ratio simpliciter non valet; quia prima ratio<sup>2</sup> fundatur in ista propositione: “Quandocumque aliqua conveniunt<sup>3</sup> et differunt, per aliud conveniunt et per aliud differunt, et per consequens utrumque illorum<sup>4</sup> includit rationem communem in qua conveniunt et propriam per quam distinguuntur.” Et ista propositio ostensa est simpliciter<sup>5</sup> falsa, quia duo individua simplicia se ipsis sine omni distinctione conveniunt et differunt.

Praeterea sicut isti duo dii convenirent in necesse esse et differrent suis propriis rationibus, eodem modo quo hoc conceditur concedendum est quod Deus et creatura conveniunt in entitate<sup>6</sup> et differunt suis propriis rationibus realiter. Et per consequens si ista ratio sit bona, Deus includeret duas rationes, et quaero sicut ipse quaerit: Aut utraque illarum est ratio formaliter necessario essendi, aut non; et procedo<sup>7</sup> sicut ipse procedit.

Praeterea si oportet talia includere duo, aut necesse est quod illa sunt distincta realiter aut formaliter, aut<sup>8</sup> tantum<sup>9</sup> secundum rationem. Non primo modo:<sup>10</sup> quia ipse dicit quod natura contracta per differentiam realem non distinguitur realiter a differentia contrahente; si secundo modo, hoc modo de facto reperitur in Deo quod sunt ibi aliqua distincta formaliter tantum.<sup>11</sup> Et tunc quaero et arguo sicut ipse:<sup>12</sup> Aut utraque illarum est ratio necessario<sup>13</sup> essendi, aut non.

\**Oxon.* I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 19; VIII, 436b-437b.

N 1. et *add. Ma.* 2. prima ratio *om. E.* 3. alia quando *F.* 4. *om. E.* 5. esse



Ad istud respondetur quod quando aliquid dividitur, tunc<sup>14</sup> ex se non habet ultimam actualitatem essendi sed expectat aliquam actualitatem essendi<sup>15</sup> ab illis per<sup>16</sup> quae dividitur. Et ideo si essent plura necesse esse, tunc necesse esse<sup>17</sup> divideretur per rationes proprias illis necesse esse; et ita esset in potentia, et non haberet ex se ultimam actualitatem essendi. Non<sup>18</sup> sic autem est in divinis, quia essentia non dividitur nec est<sup>19</sup> in potentia ad istas<sup>20</sup> rationes proprias personis. Et ideo<sup>21</sup> essentia ex se habet ultimam actualitatem necessario essendi; quia illae rationes propriae non sunt formaliter rationes necessario essendi.

Contra hoc<sup>22</sup> dupliciter: Primo quia, sicut probatum est prius,<sup>23</sup> aliquid potest esse commune ad multa quod non dividitur in illis.<sup>24</sup> Imo<sup>25</sup> universaliter nullum commune dividitur in illis<sup>26</sup> quibus est commune, quia nec est in illis. Sed ipsum manens unum nihil penitus recipiens nec aliquo sibi addito dividitur in illa<sup>27</sup> quibus est commune proportionaliter voci quae dividitur in sua significata; quae<sup>28</sup> tamen vox non est in suis significatis divisa. Nec aliquid sibi advenit per<sup>29</sup> hoc quod dividitur; et ita quantumcumque essent plura necesse esse, non oporteret quod utrumque<sup>30</sup> illorum includeret aliqua distincta sive realiter sive formaliter.

Praeterea, sicut argutum est prius,<sup>31</sup> non est maior ratio quod ista formaliter distincta componant quam illa. Et ideo vel omnia distincta formaliter constituenta per se unum componunt vel nulla, sicut omnes res facientes per se unum componunt essentialiter vel nullae. Ergo eadem ratione omnia distincta formaliter quorum unum est aliquo modo prius alio<sup>32</sup> sic<sup>33</sup> se habent quod unum illorum est<sup>34</sup> in potentia ad reliquum vel nullum. Ergo si essent plura necesse esse,<sup>35</sup> utrumque illorum<sup>36</sup> includeret rationes distinctas quarum una esset<sup>37</sup> in potentia ad aliam distinctam tantum formaliter. Eadem ratione cum de facto in Deo<sup>38</sup> ponamus essentiam et relationem distingui formaliter, et essentia

*FTMa; om. Ob.* 6. ente *Ma.* 7. procedendo *FT.* 8. formaliter, aut *om. Ma.* 9. tamen *E.* 10. Non . . . / *om. Ob.* 11. Unde *add. E.* 12. arguit *add. E.* 13. *F transp. post* essendi. 14. *om. Ob.* 15. aliquam . . . / *om. E et add. eam;* *om. Ma.* 16. in *E.* 17. tunc . . . / *om. Ma.* 18. nec *Ob.* 19. *om. Ma.* 20. alias *E.* 21. ita *E.* 22. arguitur *add. E.* 23. sicut . . . / *om. E.* 24. illo *E.* 25. primo *Ma.* 26. illo *E.* 27. illis *Ma.* 28. quia *F.* 29. propter *E.* 30. unum *E.*

est<sup>30</sup> aliqua prioritare prior relatione, sequitur quod essentia sit in potentia ad relationem.

Si<sup>40</sup> dicatur quod non est simile, quia essentia et relatio sunt una necessitas essendi per identitatem,—non sic autem esset ex alia parte—hoc non valet; quia illae rationes in uno illorum necesse esse tantum distinguuntur formaliter, qua ratione natura specifica<sup>41</sup> et differentia individualis in creaturis distinguuntur tantum formaliter, et qua ratione aliquando natura generis et differentia specifica distinguuntur tantum<sup>42</sup> formaliter; sed<sup>43</sup> illa quae distinguuntur tantum formaliter sunt una entitas realiter, et per consequens, si illa entitas sit quaedam necessitas, illa distincta formaliter erunt<sup>44</sup> necessitas essendi per identitatem.

Si dicatur quod non est ibi talis compositio nec potentialitas in Deo propter infinitatem et ideo ubi non est infinitas distincta formaliter componunt et includunt potentialitatem, hoc non valet; tum quia si essent duae res formaliter infinitae constituentes per se unam rem, non obstante infinitate componerent—ergo eodem modo si sint aliqua distincta formaliter, non obstante infinitate componunt si constituunt<sup>45</sup> per se unum, qua ratione alia distincta formaliter componunt;—tum quia hoc posito ita<sup>46</sup> diceretur quod utrumque illorum necesse esse esset infinitum sicut modo ponitur unicum necesse esse esse infinitum. Ergo tunc infinitas<sup>47</sup> impediret compositionem et potentialitatem sicut modo de facto secundum istam responsionem.

Praeterea quamvis secunda responsio<sup>48</sup> non accipiat ita manifeste falsum sicut ista, tamen oporteret probare quod omnes formae se habent sicut numeri, ita scilicet quod semper una esset<sup>49</sup> perfectior et alia imperfectior—quod non est<sup>50</sup> sufficienter probatum.<sup>51</sup>

31. sicut . . . / *om. E.* 32. *om. Ob.* 33. sicut *Ma.* 34. *om. Ma.* 35. *om. E.* 36. *om. E.* 37. est *Ma.* 38. in Deo *om. Ma.* 39. *om. Ob.* 40. *Sequentia usque ad . . . Praeterea quamvis / om. E.* 41. erit *add. Ma.* 42. *om. Ma.* 43. ex *add. Ob.* 44. una *add. Ob.* 45. componerent vel constituerint *Ma.* 46. *Om. Ob.* 47. non *add. Ob.* 48. Contra secundam rationem quamvis / *E.* 49. est *Ma.* 50. *om. E.* 51. probatur *E.* 52. *Sequentia usque ad . . . Tamen una om. E.* 53. aliquo *FT.* 54. faciat *Ma.* 55. possit *Ma.* 56. eos *F.* 57. non est . . . / *om. EMa.*

\**De Primo*, cap. 3, concl. 15-19.

Aliae<sup>52</sup> duae rationes et similiter aliquae aliae quas in alio<sup>53</sup> loco\* facit<sup>54</sup> ad probandum unitatem Dei sunt probabiles quamvis posset<sup>55</sup> aliquis contra eas<sup>56</sup> protervire, quas protervias difficile esset improbare. Tamen una propositio quae accipitur in istis duabus rationibus, scilicet, quod nulla duo possunt esse totaliter terminantia dependentiam alicuius unius, non est universaliter vera, sicut alias ostendetur et ideo transeo modo.<sup>57</sup>

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## THE CRITICAL VALUE OF QUOTATIONS OF SCOTUS' WORKS FOUND IN OCKHAM'S WRITINGS

Comment to: *La valeur critique des citations des oeuvres de Jean Duns Scot*, by Charles Balic, O.F.M., in *Mélanges* Auguste Pelzer, Louvain 1941, pp. 531-556.

FATHER BALIC, the well-known prefect of the Scotus Commission in Rome, has devoted a special study to the problem of the critical value of quotations of works of Scotus encountered in the writings of other scholastics. The discussion centers mainly on three questions: (1) whether such quotations can serve as a secure basis in order to establish the original text of Scotus, (2) whether they help to fix the date of certain writings of Scotus, (3) whether they may be of assistance in solving the problem of the authenticity of certain works attributed to Scotus. Father Balic has confined his study exclusively to those scholastics who seem to be more significant in this regard. They are: Hervaeus Natalis, Thomas of Sutton, Robert of Cowton, William of Nottingham, John of Reading, William Ockham<sup>1</sup>, William of Alnwick and John Rodington. His main interest is focussed on Scotus' *Ordinatio* and the various *Reportationes* of the Doctor Subtilis, the other writings of Scotus being treated only incidentally.

The general conclusion as regards the first problem is stated as follows:

Les citations de l'Ordinatio de Duns Scot ne nous aident donc point à en connaître et à en fixer le texte original: exception faite cependant pour certaines affirmations où on dit, par exemple, qu'il a changé d'opinion, qu'il a changé tel ou tel mot . . . (p. 553).

We understand the author to mean by this that quotations are of no help whatsoever in re-establishing the original text, unless they indicate changes made by Scotus himself.

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1. We prefer to call Ockham "William Ockham" and not "William of Ockham", since many of the oldest manuscripts do so, as likewise Pope John XXII in official documents.

Concerning the second and third problem, the author is more optimistic. He summarizes his position in the following statement:

Cependant, si les citations ne peuvent en général nous guider dans l'établissement du texte original, elles peuvent être très précieuses pour le critique ayant en vue l'authenticité des textes scolastiques, leur autorité, leur succession chronologique, etc. (p. 555).

The author points especially to Scotus' *Reportatio examinata*, the *Lectura* of Oxford, *De Primo Rerum Principio*, *De Theorematis*, *Additiones Magnae*, to show the importance of such quotations. Since all of them are attributed to *Joannes Scotus*, already by authors of the first half of the 14th century, their authenticity is thus confirmed and hence they will find a place in the critical edition now being prepared.

In this connection it will be of special interest to our readers to learn that Balic places the authenticity of *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematis* on the same level as the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales. That means the two works are authentic in this sense, that Scotus had the will to produce these works; that he has had the idea of them and has conceived their plan and indicated the material to be used (qui a volu l'oeuvre, en a eu l'idée, en a conçu le plan et indiqué la matière p. 556). For the rest, it is immaterial whether the style is different and the whole execution of the work not completely in line with the manner of the "author" himself. If this be so, then we may legitimately ask whether Balic wishes to admit that such a work of an "author" may even contradict his certainly and absolutely genuine works. Since he cites the case of the *Summa Halensis*, it appears he is willing to go even this far. For he also gives the prudent advice which we ourselves wish to emphasize:

Tâchons de ne pas confondre *Ordinatio* et *Reportations*, de distinguer dans un texte écrit la part vraiment sienne de celle qui revient aux collaborateurs et fut redigée par eux sous sa direction ou selon son programme (p. 556).

We gather from this: A student of Scotus who uses the "less

authentic" works as *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematibus* will not be safe from criticism, if he cannot substantiate his findings in these writings with the "authentically authentic" works of Scotus. This is tantamount practically excluding *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematibus* from serious studies on Scotus' doctrine, at least in the sense, that they cannot be used as primary sources. Or to put it in another way, the debate about the authenticity of these works as such is futile; the only fit subject of dispute would be the meaning of the particular doctrines expounded in these works.

Ockham is awarded special consideration by Balic, because he claims to quote Scotus literally (p. 540). We shall confine the remainder of our comments to Fr. Balic's treatment of Ockham.

Several times we have pointed at the importance of the *Venerabilis Inceptor* as a secondary source of clarifying the original text of Scotus. Unfortunately, it seems that the war conditions prevented the author from reading our publications, though one was published in Europe in 1940. Had Fr. Balic known of them, we are sure he would have been more cautious in his criticism, particularly since we had already published a critical revision of the very text Fr. Balic quotes as an instance of Ockham's inaccurate citation of Scotus.

Ockham does not always pretend to quote faithfully according to modern standards, that is, literally. Yet, we have found, that he is usually quite faithful and makes little or no changes. Of course, he leaves out texts which are not to the point, and adds words to link up texts. But, there is one instance where Ockham has not only quoted Scotus, as he usually does, but states expressly that he will quote him literally, or, as he puts it, *de verbo ad verbum*. It was this lengthy quotation (in our edition, Schöningh, Paderborn, 1940, p. 32-34), which we used to evaluate the various manuscripts of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham by confronting it with the better manuscripts of the *Ordinatio* of Scotus. It so happened, that Balic has made the same comparison of a certain common text of Scotus established on the

basis of a few good manuscripts (we both used the Scotus mss. of Erfurt, Assisi, and Worcester; in addition we each used a few different ones). Whilst Balic compared the common text of Scotus with the Incunabula edition of Ockham and *one* manuscript of Ockham (Vatic. Ottoboni 2088), we compared the common text of Scotus with 12 mss. of Ockham's *Ordinatio*. To anyone acquainted with the manuscript tradition of scholastic works, this will explain the difference in our results. The meager result of Balic's comparison is this: If we place the common text of Scotus alongside the text of the Incunabula edition of Ockham, more than thirty variants appear. (We had made the same discovery.) If we compare it with the Ockham ms. of the Vatican Library, the "number of divergences is sensibly diminished" (p. 450). Our result was, of course, more graded. We found that there is one group of Ockham manuscripts, and to it belongs the Vatican ms., which shows about twenty variants. Another group, which shows a somewhat intermediary position, has about ten variants. A third group, which represents the best texts, has at most *five variants of any importance*. Now, to show not more than five variants in such a long text is not a bad recommendation at all for Ockham's faithfulness in quoting Scotus *de verbo ad verbum*. It remains true, of course, that Ockham quoted that manuscript of Scotus' *Ordinatio*, which was available at Oxford. But we dare say that it was not too bad a one, for it must have been a manuscript of the very early 14th century, and certainly was written before 1315. To substantiate our statements, we shall edit at the end of this article Ockham's text as it will appear in the critical edition at present in preparation. To this we shall add the variants of the Assisi ms., which is the only one at our present disposal, as our former notes are lost.

By these remarks we do not, of course, intend to imply that a large number of critically established texts of Scotus may be gleaned from a critical edition of Ockham's *Ordinatio*. Balic rightly defends the need of basing a critical edition on the *Fides Codicum*. However, we know from our own experience that sometimes very important texts cannot be re-established merely

on the basis of the manuscripts. The editor who slavishly follows manuscripts alone is trusting a purely mechanical device, and will invariably perpetuate mistakes. If, for instance, an equal number of good manuscripts yield different, or even contradictory texts, we must have recourse to criteria other than the manuscripts themselves contain. Among such criteria are literal quotations by later writers, especially, if they lived close to the time of the author. For there is a great chance, or at least a better chance, that such writers understood the original thought of the text quoted better than we do. We mention this, not because we believe that the editors of Duns Scotus are not aware of it, but because we are under the impression that their emphasis on the *Fides Codicum* could be misunderstood. The manuscripts or the *Fides Codicum* must have the first word, but not always the last word. Otherwise, we would have to go so far as to re-establish the original text of the author with all its *lapsus calami* and *lapsus linguae*, or even of the errors caused by the scribe's failure to catch the dictation of the author. We have noticed such *lapsus linguae* or *calami* in the *Ordinatio* of Ockham. More than once certain manuscripts will add the remark: *Littera habet sic*, and then follows an erroneously written word, which was previously corrected. To illustrate: In speaking of the *demonstratio propter quid*, Ockham had at one place in his original copy, the words "secundum quid". Some manuscripts have here: *Secundum quid*, which is wrong, others have: *propter quid*, which is obviously right, but was not in Ockham's own copy. A third group has: *propter quid*, but adds either in the text or on the margin: *littera habet: secundum quid*. Should we put this error "secundum quid" in the final critical edition? I think common sense and charity would not allow it. Such a change, however, should be noted in a footnote.

Again, we do not think that the editors of the Scotus-works think differently. But in order to fret out some of these errors, quotations can be of considerable help.

This leads us to consider another reason by Balic against the faithfulness of the quotations found in Ockham. According to



Balic, an early Scotist, John of Rodington, has blamed Ockham for being inexact in his quotation of Scotus<sup>2</sup>. Admitting that John's remark carries some weight, we must take this testimony *cum grano salis*. In order to evaluate it properly, we went through the tedious work of checking everything that we possibly could. Refuting an allegation from Scotus made by Ockham, John states:

Ad illud—sic ait—'in substantiis non est abstractio nisi a supposito propriae naturae', dico quod libri correcti habent sic: 'in substantiis non est communiter abstractio, etc.'

Unfortunately, Balic has given references neither to Scotus nor to Ockham. We finally succeeded in locating the texts in Scotus and Ockham, and are convinced that John of Rodington refers to this passage in Ockham:

Praeterea, quod dicit (viz. Scotus) quod in substantiis non est abstractio nisi a supposito propriae naturae. . . . (Ordinatio, d. 5, q. 1, G).

However, this is not the text, where Ockham quotes Scotus in the strict sense, since Ockham merely summarizes here the literal quotation of Scotus which he has cited at the outset of his discussion. In D (of the Lyons edition) on the same question we read the fuller quotation:

Maior declaratur: In substantiis est tantum una abstractio, scilicet quidditatis a supposito propriae naturae, quia substantiae non sunt natae concernere aliquid alterius naturae. . . .

The Codex Assisiensis of the Oxoniense of Scotus reads here as follows:

Huius syllogismi maiorem declaro sic: In substantiis (here follows a long passage, with the sign on the margin: Sco. extra, and which corresponds to the *additio* in the Garcia-edition, p. 506) tantum est abstractio a supposito propriae naturae communiter, quia non sunt natae concernere aliquid aliterius naturae. . . .

2. Cfr. p. 540, and De critica textuali Scholasticorum scriptis accomodata, in *Antonianum* 20 (1945) 277.

Now, the first redaction of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham, preserved in the ms. Firenze Bibl. Naz. A. 3. 801, reads as follows:

Maior declaratur; In substantiis est tantum una abstractio, scilicet communiter, a supposito propriae natura, quia . . . etc. as in the edition.

It is true, the "communiter" in the Firenze ms. is written so that with some good will "quidditatis" can be read also, and that may explain, why the other manuscripts of Ockham have the reading "quidditatis". However, it is also possible that because of the close resemblance of the "q" and "con" and the endings "tis" and "ter" there may be a confusion already in the manuscripts of Scotus. In any case, the addition which according to John of Rodington was in the "corrected" text of Scotus, is or has its equivalent in the text of Ockham.

Let us now draw the conclusion from this discussion: John of Rodington did not quote Ockham correctly, *sicut patet intuenti*. Instead of quoting Ockham's quotation of Scotus, he quotes a short reference to that quotation. Furthermore, we can maintain with a high degree of probability that Ockham quoted the "corrected" text of Scotus, which John seems to deny, and that Ockham understood it even as an addition, as the expression "scilicet" indicates. Therefore, the criticism of John of Rodington, if he really intended his remark as a criticism, which we doubt, loses its weight. And consequently, Balic's argument likewise. As Balic rightly emphasizes, however, it remains correct to say that Ockham's quotations are only a witness of the manuscript which he used.

We have found it necessary to eliminate the unwarranted suspicion cast by Balic on the trustworthiness of Ockham's citations of Scotus, not merely because we regard it as unfounded, but principally to justify our publication of some of these quotations in recent issues of the *Franciscan Studies*. For we had previously asserted that Ockham is in the main very reliable when he quotes Scotus, and we feel it our duty to substantiate our contention in view of the statements of Father Balic to the contrary. Not that we would dream of maintaining that the

texts we have so far published should be considered as critically established texts of Scotus. But we do insist that these quotations of Ockham represents a very early text tradition.

In view of Father Balic's critical remarks which first appeared in the *Antonianum*, we were hesitant about continuing our publication of such quotations. Now that he has revealed the reasons for his misgivings, we see that they are not valid and are convinced all the more of the usefulness of publishing Ockham's citations of Scotus.

In this connection we add the text referred to previously where Ockham claims to quote Scotus literally. Our text is established critically on the basis of all the manuscripts (16) of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham that are known to us. It is the text of the critical edition being prepared at the Franciscan Institute, with the cooperation of various scholars, especially of Dom Bascour, O.S.B., the first volume of which we hope will soon appear in print. In order that the reader may be able to compare this text with the text of Scotus, we shall add the variants of the Assisi manuscript of Scotus' *Ordinatio*, omitting only the very unimportant ones, such as transpositions, or *iste* for *ille*, *ergo* for *igitur*, or vice versa.

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#### OCKHAM, ORDINATIO Q. 1 PROLOGI, KK-LL

Ne autem ista opinio quantum ad notitiam intuitivam sensibilibium et aliquorum mere intelligibilium tamquam nova contemnatur, adduco verba Doctoris Subtilis libro quarto, distinctione 45<sup>a</sup>, quaestione 3<sup>a</sup> duas praedictas conclusiones expresse ponentis, videlicet quod intellectus noster intuitive cognoscit sensibilia et quod intuitive cognoscit aliqua mere intelligibilia. Unde concedens quod pars intellectiva habet actum recordandi proprie

dictum, et per consequens quod intuitive cognoscit actum cuius postea recordatur tamquam obiecti proximi, dicit sic de verbo ad verbum.

“Dico igitur ad istum articulum, quod in intellectiva est memoria et actus recordandi proprie dictus. Supposito enim quod intellectus non tantum cognoscat universalialia, quod quidem verum est de intellectione abstractiva, de qua loquitur Philosophus, quia sola illa est scientifica, sed etiam intuitive cognoscit illa quae sensus cognoscit, quia perfectior et superior cognoscitiva in eodem cognoscit illud quod inferior, et etiam quod cognoscat sensationes—et utrumque probatur per hoc quod cognoscit propositiones contingenter veras et ex eis syllogizat; formare autem<sup>1</sup> propositiones et syllogizare proprium est intellectui; illarum autem veritas est de obiectis ut intuitive cognitis, sub ratione scilicet existentiae suae<sup>2</sup>, sub qua cognoscuntur a sensu—sequitur quod in intellectu possunt inveniri omnes conditiones prius dictae pertinentes ad recordari. Potest enim percipere tempus et habere actum post tempus et sic de caeteris. Et potest breviter recordari cuiuscumque obiecti, cuius potest ipsa<sup>3</sup> memoria sensitiva recordari, quia potest illum actum qui est proximum obiectum intuitive cognoscere quando est et ita recordari postquam fuit. Potest etiam recordari multorum proximorum obiectorum, quorum non potest sensitiva recordari, utpote<sup>4</sup> intellectionis praeteritae et volitionis. Quod enim talium recordetur homo, probatur: quia alias non posset poenitere de malis volitionibus nec etiam praeteritam intellectionem ut praeteritam conferre ad futuram, nec per consequens ex eo quod ista speculatus est ordinare se ad speculandum alia sequentia ex istis. Et breviter destruimur<sup>5</sup> multipliciter<sup>6</sup>, si intellectionum et volitionum non recordamur. Illarum autem non potest aliquis sensus recordari, quia non cadunt sub obiecto alicuius sensus. Ergo ista recordatio

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1. *om. A.*
  2. *om. A.*
  3. *om. A.*
  4. *omnis add. A.*
  5. *destruuntur A.*
  6. *om. A.*

est propria intellectui et hoc ratione obiecti proximi. Est et<sup>7</sup> alia propria non solum ratione obiecti proximi sed remoti, ut est<sup>8</sup> recordatio quae tendit in necessarium ut necessarium ut in obiectum remotum, cuiusmodi est recordatio habens pro obiecto remoto triangulum habere tres. Nam obiectum proximum recordationis, scilicet actus tendens in tale obiectum non potest esse nisi actus partis intellectivae. Sic igitur patet, quod aliqua recordatio est propria intellectui ex ratione utriusque obiecti<sup>9</sup>, scilicet tam proximi quam remoti. Aliqua etiam in ratione obiecti proximi est ita propria quod non posset competere sensui. Aliqua autem<sup>10</sup> ex ratione obiecti proximi competit intellectui, tamen potest competere sensui, utpote si intellectus intuitive intellexit me videre album, et postea intellectus intelligit vel recordatur me vidisse album. Hic quidem<sup>11</sup> obiectum proximum et remotum posset esse obiectum recordationis intellectivae et est, quandocumque collatio fit ex tali recordatione per discursum ad aliud syllogistice concludendum. Alicuius tamen sensitivae, utpote supremae, sensatio praeterita non potest esse obiectum proximum nisi tantum recordationis intellectivae, ut tactum est in articulo praecedenti. Nulla tamen recordatio pertinet ad intellectum inquantum praecise abstractivae intelligens.

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7. etiam A.

8. ut est/utpote A.

9. actus *add.* A.

10. *om.* A.

11. et *add.* A.

## MISCELLANEA

### A NOTE ON THE *FASCICULUS MORUM*

WHEN FRIAR SINTRAM was studying at Oxford in 1412, he copied four treatises to carry back to Germany with him; three of these by well-known men, Hugo of St. Victor, Aegidius of Rome and the Seraphic Doctor, are accessible in print. The fourth, known as the *Fasciculus Morum*, compiled by an unknown Franciscan of the custody of Worcester, has not yet been printed. Under the seven capital sins and their opposing virtues, he organized preaching material with exempla and narratives and occasional English verses, and he appended to the main treatise forty-two sermon outlines running from Advent to Trinity.

Dr. Little described the treatise in *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917, pp. 139-157). He showed that while it was probably written in Edward II's reign, all the early manuscripts have disappeared: of the twenty-four manuscripts, only one was written in the fourteenth century. But a study of them makes clear that what was intended for friars had in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries become generally known and used by secular clergy as well: more than half the manuscripts were owned by secular chaplains or monastic houses, or show by the omission of the few specific references to St. Francis that they were copied outside the Friars Minor. Of the six other manuscripts containing extracts, all but one are clearly non-Franciscan; and the same holds true for the ownership of nine lost manuscripts. This extended use of the treatise is also indicated by three revisions current in the fifteenth century: a condensation omitting all the English verses and many

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1. For Friar Sintram see the references in Father Lenhart's note in *Franciscan Studies* VI (1946), 469-70.

of the exempla; an expansion adding passages from the *Legenda Aurea* and elsewhere; and a third version retaining both the English and the exempla, but smoothing the difficulties of the text by rewriting many passages.

Because of these revisions and also the evidence of contamination among the manuscripts, it has seemed wise in preparing a text for publication not to attempt a reconstruction of what was written in Edward II's reign, but rather to present the text that Sintram found at Oxford in the early fifteenth century. A comparison of Bodley MS Rawlinson C 670 (which contains all but one of the English passages), with Sintram's manuscript (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York), and the Benedictine John Laverne's later manuscript (which he may have obtained while he was a student at Oxford and which he eventually gave to his own convent at Worcester Cathedral), produces a text not entirely free from errors, but readable, and not over-encumbered with variant readings.

An analysis of the relationship between the *Fasciculus* and other preaching and thinking of the time is not possible till the complete text is made available. It is, however, obvious that the friar-compiler concentrated his attention on the simple people who needed the word of God. The rich store of his illustrative material includes the wisdom of the pagan philosophers, which John of Wales, his older contemporary, had compiled in the *Breviloquium*; the pious tales and anecdotes familiar already in such collections as Jacques de Vitry's and the *Speculum Laicorum*; the science of the time, when it could be translated into simplest terms (as when the astronomers observed an eclipse of the sun by means of a mirror in a basin of water); and ever and again the manners of everyday life, a tinker preferring the battered old pots that he could mend, a blacksmith leaving a hot piece of iron in the road, children constructing toy mills and raiding the orchard for apples, the wife concealing blows inflicted by her husband, the nurse caring for her awakened child. But after the variety of narrations and exempla, his point is always

driven home by a concluding text from the Bible. In short, the treatise is interesting to the student of religion as an effort to adapt the teaching of the Church for presentation to humble people; to the student of social history it throws abundant light on mediaeval life and customs; and to the humane reader it glows with the warmth of a true son of St. Francis, intent on leading erring men out of the ways of sin and into the paths of virtue.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.* By Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D. (*Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Bibliographical Series, Vol. 1.*) Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1947. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth bound, \$5.00. Paper bound, \$3.50.

If there is one field of endeavor where it can truthfully be said the Franciscan Order has always particularly excelled, it is that of missionary work. And one of the most successful and widespread Franciscan mission fields was that of Spanish America, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. But when it comes to a detailed and coherent historical record of those glorious missionaries, modern Friars are forced to admit the truth of those sad words of Fr. Heribert Holzapfel, one of the Order's chief modern historians, who says: "The Franciscan Order, though surpassed by none in missionary labors, has been surpassed by almost all other Orders in writing the history of those labors".

It was to help wipe away that indictment that the Academy of American Franciscan History was founded in 1944. This Academy, formed of Friar members of all the American Franciscan provinces, has for one of its purposes "the discovery, editing and publishing of documents, bibliographies and original historical works pertaining to the history of the Franciscan Order in the Americas". This is indeed a worthy and long-delayed purpose, but a difficult, time-consuming one. For instance, the volume under review, published by the Academy, was the work of many years and many hands. Fr. Francisco Palou scrutinized and marked many of the documents listed, as did Fr. Estevan Tapis, Fr. José Señán, Fr. Joseph O'Keefe, Fr. Theodore Arentz and Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt. Fr. Maynard Geiger, the author and editor of the *Calendar*, who is Archivist of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, and an Academy member, states in the introduction that he himself devoted seven years to examining and arranging the documents and writing the explanatory texts for each one. It was a labor of love, I am sure, but it was nonetheless a difficult task, for which Father Geiger deserves much credit. That is why the Academy is proud to present this, the first volume of its Bibliographical Series.

Fr. Maynard has divided the documents, transcripts and photostats of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives into six sections and lists them

chronologically according to this division, with appropriate explanations for each item.

Section One lists the documents (404 of them) of the "Junipero Serra Collection, 1713 to the Present Time". The original archive was in the hands of Fr. Junipero Serra until his death in 1784. With the gradual secularization and confiscation of the California missions in the early nineteenth century, more and more documents came to Santa Barbara, the only California mission to remain permanently under Franciscan control to the present day. These official papers, mostly letters, form the Junipero Serra Collection.

The second Section is called "California Mission Documents, 1640-1853". It forms by far the largest part of the *Calendar*, listing 1,682 items, which are concerned with mission history of California in general, as distinguished from Serra documents. Because of the chronological listing, it is possible to follow the progressive steps of disintegration which the California missions were made to suffer.

From 1853 to 1885 Mission Santa Barbara was an Apostolic College for training missionaries. Section Three, "Documents of the College of Our Lady of Sorrows at Santa Barbara" treats of this college. The items listed (756) are mostly private or quasi-private ecclesiastical documents, of interest mainly to Franciscans and church authorities.

Section Four is entitled "Reports, Statistical Tables, Lists, Etc." and covers the period from the beginning to 1934, during which years the Santa Barbara friary was successively an Indian mission, an Apostolic College, a convent belonging to the Sacred Heart Franciscan Province (1885-1916) of Saint Louis, Missouri, and finally one of the principal convents of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara (1916- ). Included in this section are 27 valuable lists of missionaries who worked in California during the years 1796 to 1821. General and special reports (*informes*) on missionary activities are listed; also registers (e.g., Books of Baptisms) and other official mission books, plus various diaries written by Friars of early California.

Section Five includes "Various Documents Not Belonging to the California Collection". There are transcripts and documents concerning Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, New Mexico and Florida, plus an interesting list of old Catholic Directories of the United States, of which the Santa Barbara Archives possess an almost complete set from 1836 to the present day.

The last Section lists "Old Newspapers, Magazines, and Items of Historical Interest".

The format of the volume is pleasing, and there is a satisfyingly complete index of persons, places and documents.

This *Calendar* is an outstanding contribution to the study of California mission history. The author is well within his rights when he says of his book: "Though small in size, it (the *Calendar*) is important for the fuller understanding of Spain's last great mission field in the Indies" (p. ix). I sincerely hope that the Academy of American Franciscan History will be enabled to publish many more bibliographical works of the same high calibre as the present volume.

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*The Unity of the Church in the New Testament—Colossians and Ephesians.* By Stig Hanson. (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici, Upsaliensis, 14; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri ab, 1946), pp. xi, 197.

The author proposes to study the idea of unity in Pauline theology, and particularly the unity of the Church in Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. However, he first investigates conceptions of unity found in the Old Testament and in the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

In the Old Testament and in the literature of Judaism, monotheism is the source of all other unity. One common origin and belief in one Lord make the world into a unity. But this was soon broken by the opposition between Yahweh and idols, and by the divisions between peoples, particularly between Israel and the Gentiles; fundamentally this opposition is the antagonism between Yahweh and Satan. Besides cosmic unity there is also a national unity in Israel, manifesting itself primarily in the belief in the One God, Yahweh. But there is also disunity in the people, revealed by the schism between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, between the Pharisees and the common people. Thus the actualization of unity lies in the future, at the end of time, when the Messiah comes and the kingdom of God is established. In addition to removing all factors that destroy unity in Israel, the Messiah will represent the people, so that he may be said to be one with them—that is, by identity of representation, the relation existing between two parties when one represents the other and is identical with it in the condition of representation. On the other hand, the kingdom of God connotes the elimination of all oppositions both within and without Israel.

In the teaching of Jesus the world has its fundamental unity of creation; but this, too, has been broken by the antagonism between God and Satan. However, God has created a new unity in the

eschatological community of the disciples of the Son of Man. As the Messiah, Jesus incarnates the new Israel, which due to the identity of representation must be one. The disciples, called to imitate Him closely, in consequence constitute a unity around the Master. Due to their cultic sacramental character, meals also play a significant role in creating unity between Jesus and the disciples, and among them mutually. This is particularly true of the Lord's Supper, at which Jesus receives them into the New Covenant. Finally, there is an identity of representation between God and Jesus, his emissary; in the same way the Apostles sent by Jesus are identical with him. The relation between Jesus and the Church is important in understanding the unity of the Church, which must be one as Jesus is one. Unity, however, will be a perfect reality only with the appearance of the kingdom of God, which in its definite revelation is still in the future. This kingdom implies negatively the elimination of all hostility against God, positively that God's will be done. When the kingdom in an eschatological sense reveals itself, God's dominion will extend itself to the earth, after all opposition has been removed and God's will rules universally.

The central point of Paul's thought of unity is monotheism: every other unity is based on that of God. Besides the unity of creation there is a unity of revelation in the world. Yet it is clear that disunity has entered the world; this disunity is expressed by the opposition between God and idols, sin, the Law, Satan with his demons, and the antichrist. However, the person and work of Christ are unifiers. One man, Adam, sinned. Since he represents and incarnates all humanity, it is said that all sinned. Thus there is an identity of representation between Adam and the human race. Similarly Christ, the Second Adam, represents a new humanity, the Church, which constitutes one corpus with Him. In this aspect Christ and the new humanity are one. An analogous conception is that of Christ as Abraham's seed. On the negative side Christ has eliminated the powers that cause disunity, by His work of reconciliation restoring the original communion between God and man, conquering sin and death, and abolishing the Law. This victory over death in principle pertains also to the Christians, but its actualization lies in the future. Thus Christians live on the borderline between the Old and New Aeon.

Paul, though insisting on Israel's unique position, teaches that the Church is the Israel of God and cannot be divided. His reasoning is based on the fact that Christ is one with the Church. Of essential importance to the understanding of the unity of the Church are baptism, the Lord's Supper, the ministry, and the Spirit. By baptism man is inserted into one body, the Body of Christ, a collective personal-

ity representing a new humanity with which Christ forms one body. Baptism imparts communion primarily with Christ, but also with other persons joined in Christ. By the Lord's Supper, believers partake of Christ in that they share what He has accomplished by His suffering and death. The elements are important in imparting fellowship with Christ, since they may be said to represent Him sacramentally; moreover, participation in Christ includes mutual unity among Christians. As for the ministry, Paul continues the work of Christ; as His representative he forms the Church into a unity and is entitled to control not merely individual congregations, but the Church at large. From a viewpoint of representation he may be said to be one with the Church. Finally, the Spirit has an individual and collective character. As an individual he represents the Church; as a collectivity he is one with the New Aeon into which man is inserted by baptism. Thus the Spirit and Christ may be said to be identical.

But Christ's victory in principle is not completely actualized until the end. The eschatological process implies a resurrection, transformation, and new creation: Christ's resurrection will result in that of all men, while the transformation and new creation will pertain to all creation. At the end God will be the head of the universe—a return to the unity of creation.

In *Colossians* Christ constitutes the unity of the world through creation and atonement. He is the center of the world through creation, at which He represents God and is the medium through whom God is active. Besides being the agent of the creation He is also the goal. Being the uniting force that holds all things together, He is the unity of the world. Since everything stands in relation to Him, the world must be conceived as a unity. He is also the eschatological point of unity of the world.

The idea of the Church as the Body of Christ is stressed here, but a new idea emerges: Christ is the head of the body. Through His atonement He has primacy in the new creation, which comprises heaven and earth; since the whole world has been reunited with God, the atonement has cosmic range. What Christ has accomplished as the head of the Body, man partakes of by being incorporated into the Body through baptism. Christ is the Second Adam; through Him His race is a unity. Those who belong to His Body are thereby reconciled with God, and there is mutual peace among the members of the Body.

The atoning work of the Christ is continued by the Apostle, whose suffering is for the Church and is carried out in Christ's stead. What Christ has achieved in principle is actualized by Paul for the individual believer and congregation.

In *Ephesians* there is an obvious relation between Christ and universal unity, especially in 1, 10, where we may think of Christ as the sum of the world against the background of representation. The relation between Christ and the universe would be conceived in the same way as that between Christ and the Church. Through His atonement Christ represents the world and restores its unity. But the theme in *Ephesians* is the one universal Church, of which Christ is presented as the absolute head. As Christ is filled with God, so the Church is filled (*pleroma*) with Christ, having the commission to continue His work. In this situation the Church is Christ, since there is an identity of representation between them. Christ's universally cosmic position has thus become universally ecclesiastical.

In 2, 20ff, the pervading theme is the idea of the Church as a building, with the Apostles and prophets as the foundation and Christ as the final stone. The individual stones are firmly conjoined: Christians constitute a unity. This denotes both the universalism and unity of the Church. The building grows, in that new members are fitted into the Church. Christ is holy; consequently the Church is holy. The result of all this is that the Church is a spiritual dwelling.

In 4, 15f, the ideas of building and body are joined. The body is thought of as being knit together through the joints and ligaments, combining the various parts of the organism. The purpose of a member is not only to combine, but also to be a channel of nourishment to the other parts of the body. The contribution of each member makes the growth of the body. The nourishment comes from the head, and the member, the individual Christian, has only to pass it on to the rest of the body. The growth is both from and to Christ, Who is the origin and goal. The power of the head is in the individual transformed into the self-building of the Church. The Body grows and is built up with love as its highest principle.

In 5, 23-32, the relation between Christ and the Church is the type of that between husband and wife. The Church is the Bride of Christ, a relationship expressed by Gen. 2, 24; these words are said to contain a *mysterion*, signifying especially the unity between Christ and the Church. The Church is, on the one hand, an independent person, object of Christ's love; on the other hand, it is closely connected with Him and together with Him constitutes a unity.

In 2, 11-19, the readers, who were ritually Gentiles, are now near God and the gifts of grace. By atonement unity is created among men, as well as between God and men. Christ has created peace between individuals and has unified the collectivities—Jews and Gentiles—by destroying the wall between them and abolishing the Law. He has created one man from the two, Jew and Gentile; this is a new

race incarnated in Christ as the Second Adam. Saved humanity is one, since it is thought of as included in its representative, who is one. Thus the two groups of mankind have converged into a higher unity, the Body of Christ.

In 4, 1-6, Paul deals with spiritual unity. Unity exists in the Church because the Spirit exists; believers are tied together by peace or concord between Christians. Having admonished the congregation to keep unity, Paul enumerates his arguments in a sevenfold *heis*—probably a paranesis of baptism, since all seven members have a more or less obvious relation to baptism. The Church is one whether regarded as Body or Spirit; the two expressions characterize the unity of the Church as to its essence: a material, spiritual corpus. The most important element of unity is faith, the contents of which is Christ, Who is one. The one Christ makes His Church into a unity.

In 4, 6ff, Paul considers the position and task of various members of the congregation, dwelling particularly on the ministers, who have been commissioned by Christ to prepare the saints to serve in the building up of the Body of Christ. The ministry must work that the Church have one faith, or unity of faith. Thus the Christian will be a perfect man: the Church will attain its complete size. In other words, the ministers are to labor for the realization of this eschatological unity.

Hanson devotes a last paragraph to a brief study of John and Ignatius. In the Fourth Gospel, especially in 10 and 17, there is a conscious theological speculation on unity. In particular, both John and Ignatius base the unity of the Church on the unity between the Father and the Son, which would seem to be an identity of representation.

In the above, the reviewer has sketched, as far as possible in the author's own words, the salient features of the work under discussion. He has adopted this procedure in preference to a detailed criticism of the work, which would entail the examination and criticism of fundamental views prevalent in modern critical and ultra-liberal circles. Throughout the book there are many views to which the reviewer takes exception, as will any Catholic reader: e.g., absolute monotheism appears in Israel only with the preaching of the later Prophets (p. 5); the creation narrative has been demythologized, but still betrays mythological influence (p. 6); between the Father and the Son there is an identity of representation, not of nature (p. 35 and *passim*); the Eucharist is little more than a memorial service (pp. 32f and 88), etc., etc. These and many similar thoughts are not always clearly stated by the author; often they are merely taken for granted or implied by the author's words.

Despite the fact that the author's conclusions or opinions proceed from premises that are neither acknowledged by Catholic scholars nor acceptable to them, his work reveals many points of contact, if not complete agreement, with the Catholic doctrine on the Mystical Body of Christ. Yet he visibly shies away from this term.

Obviously the author has studied his sources and all available literature very diligently, as witness a copious bibliography appended to the book and numberless references and footnotes throughout the work. He is aware of the problems that confront him and attacks his task after painstaking philological and exegetical investigation. On this score, the reviewer commends the method of the author and acknowledges the scholarly nature of his work.

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*L'Orientamento Professionale dei Giovani nelle Scuole.* By Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M. VITA E PENSIERO, 2d revised edition, Vol. XIX. Milan, Italy: Pubblic. Univ. Cattol. del S. Cuore, 1947. Pp. viii+185.

This study of the eminent psychologist of the Catholic University at Milan deals with the questions of "vocational guidance" in schools. Although considering primarily problems arising within the scholastic institutions and the economic situations in Italy, it is of interest to everyone concerned with these things, because of the broad psychological foundation, the clarity of criticism, and the wide experience of the author. Vocational guidance is desirable in view of individual differences, the gradual stabilization of habits, and the existence of relatively determining psychological laws. Guidance is to be based on the co-operation of school, physician, psychologist, and the family, and has to consider the total personality, not only scholastic achievement. The respective functions of the persons concerned are defined. Guidance is not limited to one or a few examinations or tests; it ought to continue throughout the scholastic years and beyond. Nor do the tests exhaust the meaning of guidance which has to be strictly an educational activity, taking account of the whole personality, aptitudes, interests, inclinations, character. Continuous observation is, at least, as important as are tests. Since it is not always feasible that inclinations, aptitudes, and profession be perfectly harmonized, one needs beyond "vocational" a good deal of spiritual guidance, to enable a man that he withstand eventually the unpleasantness and burden of a not satisfactory occupation. The various fields, educational, medical, psychological, the methods of testing, observation and coun-



selling are described in the fourteen chapters. Appended are notes on specifically Italian problems, on the form for medical examination, on the technique of compiling a scholastic form for guidance, and more than eight pages of bibliography, comprising works and articles not only published in Italy, but in America, England, France, Germany, too. The well-balanced presentation of the questions involved makes this book particularly valuable. One welcomes especially the reference to the necessity that man be considered in his totality, including not only his psycho-physical but also his spiritual nature.

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*Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reino de la China.* By P. Juan González de Mendoza, O.S.A. Edition, introduction and notes by P. Felix Garcia, O.S.A. Collection España Misionera, Vol. II. Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1944. Pp. LII +396.

This volume is a new, handy edition of a famous book on China, of a book which was the first comprehensive treatment of the country and the customs of the unknown Middle Kingdom. From the Franciscan standpoint, it is interesting because it spread the news of the missionary journeys of the Franciscans, Pedro de Alfaro (1579) and Martin Ignacio (1581) and their companions, in a few years all over the Western world.

Juan González de Mendoza (1545-1618), its author, was a native of Torrecilla de Cameros in Spain, and went as a lad of eighteen to Mexico, where he soon joined the Augustinian order and began to study for the priesthood. Like many of his contemporaries, he developed a great interest in the mission prospects of the Far East. Through his monastery in Mexico many a famous traveler passed on his way to or from the Philippines, or even China, and Juan González studied their reports and discussed with them the unknown countries of the Pacific. Because he was so interested and informed, he was permitted to accompany in 1574 the Augustinian provincial, Diego de Herrera, who had just visited the Philippines, to Spain. Herrera's report resulted in a new mission of forty friars to the Philippines. Juan González would have liked to go along, but he had to stay behind to continue his studies at Salamanca and to serve as preacher at the famous monastery of San Felipe el Real.

In 1580, after P. Martin de Rada's visit to China, the Spanish king decided upon an embassy to China to open up commercial relations

and the way for preaching the Gospel to the Chinese. Juan González de Mendoza was appointed ambassador. With two confreres he sailed to Mexico, but there he was retained and met with such serious obstacles that he returned to Spain personally to inform the king. But even there he no longer found sufficient assistance so that the idea of an embassy was soon abandoned. Nevertheless, he kept interested in China, and, encouraged by friends, notably Don Antonio de Padilla y Meneses, President of the Indies, and Pope Gregory XIII, he published in 1585 the results of his studies. The success of the book was phenomenal. Within 16 years it went through no less than 38 editions, and appeared in Spanish, Italian, French, English, Latin, Dutch, and German.

González's book is considered the first book of importance in the field of Sinology. Though its author was never in China and held opinions which have since proved false, he gives an honest and scientific account of that empire, treats its geography, its climate, its natural wealth, its religions and customs, its political institutions, as well as some new missionary journeys to China and other oriental countries. As sources he used besides older books like Marco Polo, written reports of travelers to China and their oral information.

Though the book has its importance in the field of Sinology, it is primarily a mission book. Juan González's principal aim was to tell the Christian world of a large, unknown country which was still far-away from Christ and untouched by the work of the missionary.

Today the book is not only a classic of the Spanish language, but an important historic document. We must be very grateful to Father Garcia for this new edition. He has not only annotated the text, but also given us a careful and exhaustive introduction to the author and his work, and has illustrated his edition with numerous old and interesting maps. The book is a worthwhile addition to our mission literature, and takes an honored place in the collection *España Misionera*.

BERNWARD H. WILLEKE, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,  
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*The Thomistic Philosophy of the Angels.* By James Collins. (Catholic University of America Philosophical Series, LXXXIX) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xv, 383.

In this dissertation, written several years earlier, but only recently appearing in print, Dr. Collins, Assistant Professor of Philosophy at

St. Louis University, has given us a valuable and interesting study on Thomistic angelology. Though modestly assuring us he attempts no exhaustive treatise, but presents only the principal problems and these in broad outline, Dr. Collins does much more than merely sketch St. Thomas' philosophy of the angels. He has made a wise choice of topics, dealing as he does with the angelic principles of being, essence and existence, potency and act, as well as with angelic cognition, volition, power, influence upon other angels, the celestial spheres, and the sublunary world. But more than this, Dr. Collins has recognized the importance of the historical background, and studies the conceptions of Aquinas as high-lighted against the teachings of predecessors and contemporaries. Aristotle, Proclus, Avicenna, Avicenna, Averroes, the Summa of Alexander, St. Bonaventure, St. Albert, and Siger of Brabant are dealt with in a way that brings to the fore the author's wide knowledge of recent literature in this field.

Some might think the title, *Thomistic Theology of the Angels*, more appropriate for this study in view of the fact, that with the decline of Aristotelian astrophysical theories, the discussion of the angels was pushed back into purely theological circles. For this reason, Dr. Collins wisely devotes a lengthy introductory chapter on the science and existence of the angels, indicating how St. Thomas could incorporate pneumatology into a realistic metaphysics on the basis of the causality, substantiality, and immateriality of the angels. Though rejecting the Avicennian interpretation that God must necessarily create through the mediation of angels, St. Thomas claimed that reason could establish their existence as the most probable cause of the physical effects observed by the naturalist, even though their existence could not be rigidly demonstrated. Apparently St. Thomas has adopted something of the Commentator's conception of metaphysics, for in the Averroistic view, it is physics which establishes the existence of prime movers or separate substances, leaving to metaphysics the analysis of their properties as immaterial, substantial beings. There is this important difference, however, that St. Thomas could not conclude with certainty to the actual existence of these celestial secondary causes, and, therefore, the angels would seem to be on a par with other plausible causal hypotheses, such as matter and form, which might legitimately be considered by the realistic metaphysician. This also explains why, with the advent of the new physics, angelology came to be rejected as a proper object of a purely philosophical science, though Scotus already expressed his doubts about the validity of incorporating angels into the metaphysics of separate substances.

In his polemic against universal hylomorphism, St. Thomas combats the Avicennian conception of creatural composition, sub-

stituting that of Alfarabi and Avicenna who had insisted on the real distinction of essence and existence. This conviction that real simplicity is so intimately a divine attribute that it cannot be attributed to a creature seems to have been a common misconception among the scholastics up to the time of Aureoli.

In his analysis of St. Thomas' relation to Avicenna in the matter of the necessity and contingency of the angels, Dr. Collins seems to lean rather heavily upon Father G. Smith's interpretation of Avicennian "possibility". To the reviewer, it seems more a matter of viewpoint whether the Avicennian "possible" be portrayed as wholly independent of God or wholly dependent upon God. For in one sense, at least, Avicenna has come closer to the accepted Christian interpretation of creatural contingency (*a parte creaturae*) than Averroes, or even St. Thomas himself in the matter of the angels. For Aquinas, according to Dr. Collins, seems to reject this "tendency to non being" (p. 128) and to retain, though of course in a profoundly modified form, that peculiar Aristotelian notion of the Intelligences as a sort of intermediary gods, who as *entia a se* were independent of God in their being, although dependent upon God as the final cause of their *agere*.

The interpretation of Avicenna, however, is a moot question, and this reviewer could hardly take issue with the author for the interpretation he has so ably presented and drawn to its logical conclusions.

A great deal more could be said in praise of this study of Dr. Collins, but, lest this review become unseemingly long, we conclude with the suggestion that the reader interested in this too often neglected phase of Thomistic philosophy, peruse this clearly written scholarly work for himself.

ALLAN WOLTER, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,  
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

*Treading the Winepress.* By William Stephenson, S. J. Westminster, Md.: Newman Bookshop, 1946. Pp. xviii, 336. \$2.50.

Father Stephenson's book deserves a prominent place on the ever-increasing list of spiritual and ascetical volumes written here and abroad. It is a fast and moving presentation of the Gospel narrative on the Passion of our Blessed Saviour, accompanied by spiritual reflections. These are the two main features of the book. In reality, it is a book of meditation on the Blessed Passion of Christ.

The reflections are, in many cases, an expanding of the brief points connected with the Passion, and marked out for special consideration by St. Ignatius, in the Third Week of his *Spiritual Exercises*. A great variety, too, of reflections has been offered, so as to suit the tastes and meet the needs of individual classes of readers.

The first five chapters contain preliminary remarks. They deal with the remote and immediate events leading up to the Passion; emphasis is laid on the importance and on the fruits derived from the meditation of Christ's Passion; general norms or hints are given for a fruitful contemplation; finally, a method of examination of conscience is proposed. The remaining twelve chapters are taken up with the two main features of the book.

The author does not claim much originality for the work; he has culled the best material from various sources. The book is commendable for its easy reading, accurate narrative of the Gospel data, refreshing thoughts, and inspiring reflections.

GREGORY GRABKA, O.F.M. Conv.

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Granby, Mass.*

*Recalling St. Anthony of Padua.* By Rev. Fr. Marcellus Manzo, O.F.M. Cap., M.A., Ph.D., New York City, N. Y. Copyright, 1946. Pp. x plus 55. Illustrated. 8vo. ("Copies of this book may be obtained from the author at 213 Stanton St., New York City, N. Y.")

The proclamation of St. Anthony of Padua as a Doctor of the Church Universal by Pope Pius XII on Jan. 16, 1946, has, as is usual on such and similar occasions, evoked from Franciscan and other literateurs a large bibliography and inspired festive celebrations. Besides the encyclicals by each of the three Minister Generals of the First Franciscan Order, accounts of the various festivities held throughout the world have been publicized, books printed and bibliographies compiled. Among the printed accounts were the beautifully illustrated booklet of 214 pages recalling the celebrations at Padua during the months of May and June, 1946; that of 520 pages recalling the celebrations at Rome; and that of our own American friars conducted on November 11, 1946, at the Shrine and auditorium of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. A more or less complete bibliography on St. Anthony of Padua is about to appear in the next number of the *Report of the Franciscan Educational Conference* held last summer at Santa Barbara, Calif. This reviewer knows of at least two other English works on St. Anthony now on the

press and to appear in the Spring of this year; likewise of a dissertation in preparation for an S.T.D. degree at the Catholic University.

One of the first books in English to appear in print after the solemn Anthonian proclamation by the present Holy Father was *Recalling St. Anthony of Padua* by the above-named Capuchin Father of the Detroit Province. It is a very readable, albeit brief life of St. Anthony, appropriately illustrated by Anthony Thomas Esposito of Brooklyn, N. Y., and pleasingly embellished from time to time with poetical selections. The Preface was written by the Rev. Anthony McBride, O.F.M. Cap., M.A.; the Appendix contains an English translation of the Apostolic Letters creating St. Anthony a Doctor of the Church, taken from the *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, whereas the present Secretary and Socius of the Minister General of the Friars Minor Capuchins, Very Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, at that time still in the U. S. A., acted as Censor. The author leans heavily on the biography by Bishop Vittorino Facchinetti, O.F.M., entitled *Antonio di Padova* (Milano, 1925). Since he has evidently intended his book for popular consumption, no one will take it amiss that he did not enter into any of the many controversial questions attending on the life and doctrines of St. Anthony of Padua. With Facchinetti the author assumes that St. Anthony taught the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (pp. 13-14), and also the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, despite the fact that in recent years a rather heated controversy has arisen on the latter point, one Roman Franciscan denying it, another affirming it. Then there is the question of the miracles alleged to have been performed *during the life-time* of our saint, practically all of them being denied by such an eminent Franciscan critic as Bishop Hilarin Felder, O.F.M. Cap., who follows the learned Tertiary critic, Léon de Kerval, "the Sabatier of Antoniana", due to the fact that they are not found recorded by the best heretofore known legends of the early XIII century. However, both in regard to the doctrines of our saint and to the miracles alleged to have been performed during his life-time, we may well await further investigations and researches before arriving at definite conclusions. Due to the century old traditions in their favor, Fr. Marcellus might well be allowed the privilege of inserting them in a popularly conceived book such as his. The author fittingly elaborates on the interest St. Anthony showed in the Third Order of St. Francis (pp. 20-22) and on his influence on other Franciscan followers from the city of Padua (p. 28).

We gladly recommend this little booklet on St. Anthony to all lovers of Franciscana and heartily subscribe to the words of the preface: "A study of Father Marcellus' life of St. Anthony, written in a direct and simple style, will inspire the reader both to value his own Faith and to preserve it from the dross of worldliness and to exert himself

to bring others to a knowledge of the beauty and saving powers of the teachings of Christ".

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M. Conv.

*St. Bonaventure's Convent,*  
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*St. Jane Frances Frémyot de Chantal: Her Exhortations, Conferences and Instructions.* Translated from the French edition printed at Paris in 1875. Revised. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Bookshop, 1947. Pp. xx+478. \$3.75.

Whatever school of spirituality we belong to, we can find much in the life and writings of any saint to give us inspiration and comfort. So it is with the writings of St. Jane Frances de Chantal. Here we see some of the inner workings of a strong and valiant woman.

Her human qualities attract us. She looked upon sanctity as something not beyond the reach of sinners. Good will and an intense love of God will lead us to holiness. Her congregation of sisters was founded with this thought in mind. She wanted to provide a place where women who aspired to sanctity, yet who were not attracted to the rigorous penances usual in religious orders at the time, could lead a devout and holy life. Sanctity is never easy and she did not intend to make it so. But she did want to show that it is not impossible for ordinary people to achieve it. Hence her advice is supremely practical for the small difficulties and questions that come to mind daily.

The book contains three different parts. Her Exhortations were for the most part formal explanations of the Rule of her sisterhood which follows the Rule of St. Augustine. As such, they would not have too much application for anyone not following the Augustinian Rule. One may, however, admire the wisdom and prudence with which she interprets the Rule.

In the second part of her book, her Conferences, we find the real St. Jane Frances. These conferences were in general conversations that she had with the sisters during recreation in the community room. The sisters would ask their beloved director different questions concerning the spiritual life, and in this informal atmosphere she would answer them simply and practically.

The third part contains twenty-three conversations St. Jane had with her novices. These are more formal than the conferences; still they flow from a soul trying to lead others nearer to God.

There is a wealth of material here for conferences and retreats for sisters. It is packed with insight and down-to-earthness. It is to be

highly recommended to retreat masters and directors of nuns. The Newman Bookshop is to be congratulated for making this fine volume available.

BEDE A. DAUPHINEE, O.F.M.

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*The Life of Christ.* By Ricciotti Giuseppe. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1947), pp. xvi, 703.

To acquaint his readers with his purpose in putting forth this new life of Christ, Ricciotti remarks in his preface: "It has been my wish to write an exclusively historical and documentary work. I have studied the ancient fact and not the modern theory, the solidity of the documents and not the flimsiness of any interpretation presently the fashion. I have even dared to imitate the famous 'dispassionateness' of the canonical Evangelists, who have neither an exclamation of joy when Jesus is born nor a word of lament when He dies. It has been my intention, then, to write a critical work."

In setting about to accomplish his stated purpose, Ricciotti first submits a critical introduction of 200 odd pages, which furnishes an accurate word picture of the geographical, historical, political, and religious background. He discusses the sources of the life of Christ, both Christian and non-Christian, assaying them thoroughly, particularly with reference to modern theories of the origin of the canonical gospels. The chronology of Christ's life is also fully treated; it may be mentioned here that the author prefers the two year theory for the duration of Christ's public life. The critical introduction comes to a close with a rather lengthy exposition of Rationalist interpretations of the life of Christ (or should we perhaps say of the mysterious, or even mythical, Christ?).

Thereupon the author passes to the recorded life of Christ, drawing on the canonical account from the angel's announcement of the birth of the Precursor to the Ascension of the Lord. The incidents are usually described in some detail. This cannot, however, be said of the discourses of Christ; quite often Ricciotti is content to let the sacred text speak for itself, although he does submit footnotes or other annotations to clear up outstanding difficulties. Throughout the work he is careful to point out Rationalist interpretations and is equally solicitous in refuting them.

In previous writings the author has proved himself a most competent historian; the reader will find confirmation of this in Ricciotti's



*Life of Christ.* The historical background he furnishes is accurate to the minutest detail, as far as modern science can reconstruct. His introductory words regarding the canonical sources are so clear and excellent that the reviewer feels this section can be lifted bodily and incorporated into a New Testament introduction for theological students. A similar judgment must be passed on his remarks concerning Rationalist interpretations of the life and figure of Jesus, which the reviewer considers the finest he has read.

Ricciotti's exegesis is fresh and stimulating, and he is at all times logical. More, he is very careful to indicate to his readers the exact degree of certainty there is in the explanation he submits. The reviewer feels that Ricciotti is at his very best when he assails with unusually acute remarks ultra-liberal interpretations of individual scenes or discourses from the life of Christ. It is evident that he possesses the superior weapons, as well as the ability to use them to greatest advantage. He trains them on the flimsy breastworks thrown up by Rationalists and reduces them to just what they are—a heap of mumble-jumble words.

It has been pointed out that Ricciotti's treatment of Jesus' discourses quite often consists merely in quoting the words of the Master as they are recorded in the sacred text. On this score he has been criticized; if the criticism is founded, it is just about the only defect of any consequence in this work. True, there is no systematic treatment of Jesus' doctrine; yet the author's purpose was primarily to describe critically the life of Christ. That is why to some extent one might overlook this lack, as well as the author's sketchy treatment of Jesus' discourses.

It should be quite clear that the reviewer is satisfied in his mind that Ricciotti has definitely accomplished his stated purpose of writing a critical life of Christ. He is sure that this is the only verdict that can be returned by a competent judge in view of the overwhelming evidence—the solidly critical introduction and the solidly critical method of investigation and exposition employed by the author. Whatever criticism may be leveled at this work will fall under the title of omission rather than of commission.

What is to be said of the translation? Ricciotti's style in Italian is excellent for its readability. Though it is a style that is not easy to reproduce in another language, the English translation of this work is quite well done. In setting hand to this translation, Miss Zizzamia has done the English-speaking world a distinct service; it is the reviewer's conviction that she has acquitted herself creditably. The reviewer has noted some typographical errors, but feels it would be petty to point them out individually, since they are very few in proportion to the bulk of the book.

In commenting on the Rationalists' interpretations of the life of Christ, Ricciotti writes (p. 216): "In short, the left wing seems to have consigned the historical Jesus inexorably to the tomb. On one corner of that tomb the mythologists, or their successors, will write *Nemo*; the eschatologists will reject this inscription as a grave offense against history, and in another corner they will write *Ignotus*; but then both groups will proceed to help each other roll the stone against the entrance to the sepulchre. In happy accord, they will affix their seals to it and then sit down together before the closed door to keep their watch." To continue the happy figure of the author, the reviewer would say that Ricciotti has been able to efface both the *Nemo* and *Ignotus* from the tomb. Instead he has brought to his readers in warm, glowing colors the true Jesus, the historical Jesus, just as the historically reliable canonical sources have presented Him to posterity.

The reviewer has read this life of Christ with a sense of deep satisfaction, and he feels that he cannot recommend it too highly for the educated Catholic.

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